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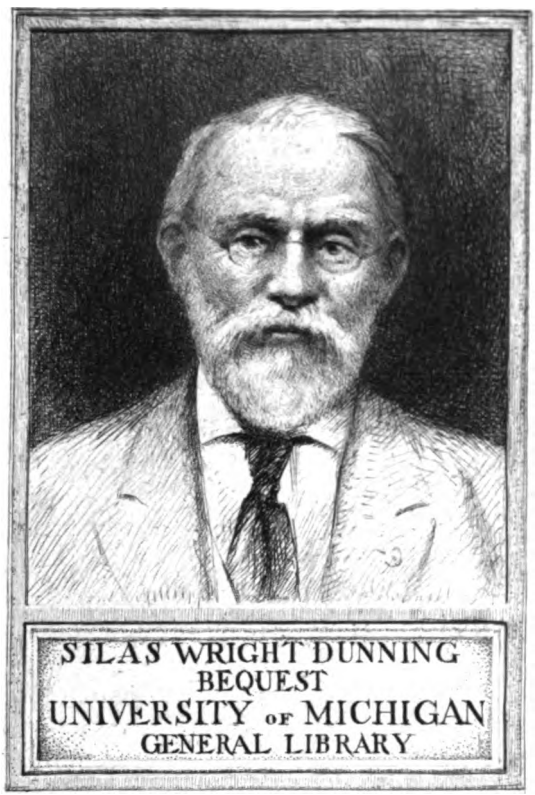

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The

Transactions

of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1900-01.

LONDON:
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.
1902.

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THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

President:—The Right Hon. Lord Tredegar.
Chairman of the Council:—Mr. Stephen Evans, J.P.
Treasurer:—Mr. H. Lloyd Roberts. *Secretary:—Mr. E. Vincent Evans.*

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION, originally founded under Royal patronage in 1751, was revived in 1873, with the object of bringing into closer contact Welshmen, particularly those resident out of Wales, who are anxious to advance the welfare of their country; and of enabling them to unite their efforts for that purpose. Its especial aims are the improvement of Education, and the promotion of intellectual culture by the encouragement of Literature, Science, and Art, as connected with Wales.

Subscription to the Society, entitling to copies of all its publications, and admission to all meetings:—One Guinea per annum.

Application for membership should be addressed to the Secretary, E. Vincent Evans, New Stone Buildings, 64, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

Y Cymmrodor, Vols. ii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii. New Series, Vols. xiii and xiv. 10*s.* 6*d.* per volume. [Vols. i and iii are out of print.]

The History of the Cymmrodorion. Out of print.

A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe, by Wyllyam Salesbury (1547). Facsimile, black letter. 4 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

The Gododin of Aneurin Gwawdrydd, by Thomas Stephens, Author of *The Literature of the Kymry.* 6 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

An Essay on Pennillion Singing (Hanes ac Henafiaeth Canu Gyda'r Tannau), by J. Jones (*Idris Vychan*). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Ystorya de Carolo Magno (from the "Red Book of Hergest"). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Athravaeth Gristnogavl (from the unique copy belonging to the late Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, originally printed at Milan, A.D. 1568). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Blessednes of Brytaine, by Maurice Kyffin (1587). 1 part, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Gerald the Welshman, by Henry Owen, D.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Demy 8vo., vellum cloth, gilt, 10*s.*

Gweithiau Iolo Goch: Gyda Nodiadau Hanesyddol a Beirniadol, gan Charles Ashton. The Works of Iolo Goch. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (Sessions, 1892-93, 1893-94, 1894-95, 1895-96, 1896-97, 1897-98, 1898-99, 1899-1900).

IN THE CYMMRODORION RECORD SERIES.

The Description of Pembrokeshire, by George Owen of Henllys. Edited by Henry Owen, D.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Being No. 1 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* 2 parts, 21*s.*

The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin or Dyffryn-Clwyd, of the Reign of King Edward the First, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited, with Translations, Notes, etc., by R. Arthur Roberts, of H.M. Public Record Office. Being No. 2 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

Gildae de Excidio Britanniae, Liber de Paenitentia, accedit et Lorica Gildae. (Gildas: the Ruin of Britain, Fragments from Lost Letters, the Penitential, together with the Lorica of Gildas.) Parts I and II. Edited by Hugh Williams, M.A., Professor of Church History at the Theological College, Bala. Being No. 3 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* In Three Parts. Price 21*s.*; to Members of the Society, 10*s.* 6*d.*

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum. Part I. Compiled and Edited by Edward Owen, of Gray's Inn Barrister-at-Law. Being No. 4 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

The Black Book of St. David's. An extent of all the Lands and Rents of the Lord Bishop of St. David's, made by Master David Fraunceys, Chancellor of St. David's in the time of the Venerable Father the Lord David Martyn, by the grace of God, Bishop of the place, in the year of our Lord 1326. Edited by J. W. Willis-Bund. Being No. 5 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*; to Members of the Society 10*s.* 6*d.*

To be obtained on application to the Secretary, at the Cymmrodorion Library, 64, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

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THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE HONOURABLE

SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

SESSION 1900–1901.

LONDON:
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.
1902.

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REPORT

OF

THE COUNCIL OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the Year ending November 9th, 1901.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT THE SOCIETY'S ROOMS ON THURSDAY, THE 14TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1901.

THE Council, in presenting their Annual Report to the Members, have the greatest pleasure in recording, what is already well known, viz.: the acceptance of the office of President of the Society, rendered vacant by the lamented death of the late Marquess of Bute, by the Right Honourable Lord Tredegar. His Lordship's intimate personal connection with Wales, his unflagging zeal on behalf of all national movements, and his readiness at all times to serve the interests of the Society, render his acceptance of the Presidency a matter of the deepest gratification to all who have at heart the special aims which it is the object of the Cymmrodorion to promote.

In common with all Loyal Societies the Council, on behalf of this Society, paid their tribute of affection and respect to the memory of the Great Queen who departed from amongst us in the early part of this year, and expressed their congratulations to His Majesty King

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Edward VII on his accession to the Throne, with the assurance of their devoted loyalty, and their earnest wishes for His Majesty's personal happiness and the prosperity of his reign.

In the name of the Society they also sent their respectful congratulations to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, on the occasion of the conferment upon him by His Majesty of the historic title connected with the Principality, and expressed their conviction that the titular relation of His Royal Highness with Wales enhanced the favour with which he had already honoured the Society of Cymmrodorion.

The Council beg to announce that thirty-three new members joined the Society during the past year. On the other hand, an exceptionally large number of the Society's supporters were removed by death. Amongst these Wales deplores the untimely deaths of Principal Viriamu Jones, to whom the cause of Welsh education is deeply indebted, and Doctor John Williams, of Cardiff, who at an early age had won a distinguished position in the Science of Medicine. The late Mr. Stanley Leighton, formerly Member of Parliament for the Oswestry Division, took a keen interest in Welsh Archæology, and Mr. H. Duncan Skrine, who died recently at a ripe old age, was another Englishman of great learning and varied knowledge who took delight in the study of Welsh literature.

Our obituary list also includes the names of Mr. John Corbett, a generous contributor to Welsh educational objects, Mr. William Oliver, a Welsh painter of great merit, Mr. George Williams, a member of more than twenty-five years standing, Alderman Walter Henry Morgan, Mr. George Griffiths, Mr. T. T. Marks, and others.

The Council trust that the corresponding and other members of the Society will do their utmost to fill up the gaps thus occasioned in their ranks.

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During the year the following meetings were held in London:—

1900.

November 22.—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS.

December 10.—ANNUAL DINNER; President, Dr. Isambard Owen, M.A. (Senior Deputy Chancellor of the University of Wales).

1901.

March 6.—Paper on "Art and Handicraft in Wales; some Criticisms and Suggestions," by Mr. W. Goscombe John, A.R.A.; Chairman, Sir L. Alma Tadema, R.A.

May 8.—Paper on "Some Dialectal Boundaries in Mid Wales," by Mr. Thomas Darlington," H.M. Inspector of Schools; Chairman, Principal Rhŷs, LL.D.

May 15.—Paper on "The Diplomatics of Welsh Records," by Mr. Hubert Hall, F.S.A., Director of the Royal Historical Society; Chairman, Mr. R. Arthur Roberts of the Public Record Office.

June 5.—Paper on "Archbishop Peckham and the Conquest of Wales," by Mr. J. W. Willis Bund, F.S.A.; Chairman, Rev. G. Hartwell Jones, M.A.

July 3.—ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE (by kind permission of the Master and Wardens), at Mercers' Hall, Cheapside, and Reception by President.

In Merthyr Tydfil:—

In connection with the Cymmrodorion Section of the Eisteddfod, meetings were held in the Town Hall. Presidents: Mr. Marchant Williams, (Stipendiary Magistrate, Merthyr Tydfil), Colonel D. Rees Lewis, and Mr. William Edwards, M.A. (H.M. Inspector of Schools).

On Monday, August 5th, 1901, Papers on "National Health," by Mr. Isaac Shone, C.E., Westminster: Mr. Emrys Jones, M.D., Manchester; followed by discussion.

On Wednesday, August 7th, 1901 (Joint Meeting with the Welsh Language Society), a Paper on "The Study of Welsh," by Mr. Alfred Davies, Liverpool, with Addresses by Members of the Welsh Language Society.

The question of National Health and Sanitation, which was discussed at Merthyr Tydfil, continues to gain more and more public attention, and it is suggested that one of

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the meetings of the Eisteddfod Section, to be held at Bangor next year, shall be devoted to the further consideration of the subject.

The arrangements for the coming Session include papers by Mr. T. E. Morris, LL.M., on "The Re-naming of Welshmen"; Professor J. Morris Jones, M.A., on "Celfyddyd Barddoniaeth Gymreig"; Mr. W. Llewelyn Williams, B.C.L., on "Welsh Catholics on the Continent"; Mr. Brynmor Jones, K.C., M.P., on "Ancient Welsh Laws and Institutes"; and Mr. Marchant Williams, B.A., on "The Romance of Welsh Education".

The Council have pleasure in announcing that the members of the Society will dine together on the 3rd of December, 1901, at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Mêtropole, with the President, the Right Hon. Lord Tredegar, in the chair.

During the year the following publications have been issued to members:—

Y Cymmrodor, Vol. XIV, containing "English Law in Wales and the Marches," by Henry Owen, D.C.L. Oxon, F.S.A.; "The Broughtons of Marchwiel: a Contribution to the History of the Parish of Marchwiel," by Alfred Neobard Palmer; "Vita Sancti Kebie," by the Rev. S. Baring Gould, M.A.; "Salesbury's Dictionary and the King's License," by J. H. Davies, M.A.; "A Welsh Love Song of the 16th Century," by J. H. Davies, M.A.; "The Expulsion of the Dessi," by Professor Kuno Meyer, Ph.D.; "Side Lights on Welsh Jacobitism," by J. Arthur Price, B.A.

The Transactions for the Session 1899-1900 containing Portrait and Obituary Notice of the late Marquess of Bute, K.T. (President of the Society); "Welsh Cave Legends, and the Story of Owen Lawgoch," by Professor Rhys, LL.D.; "Owain Lawgoch —Yeuain de Galles: some Facts and Suggestions," by Edward Owen (with facsimile Illustration); "Canu Pennillion," by Rev. W. H. Williams (*Watcyn Wyn*); "Wales and the Coming of the Normans, 1039-1093," by Professor J. E. Lloyd, M.A.; Report of the Council, and Statement of Receipts and Payments for 1899-1900.

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Gildas, Part ii, containing the remaining portion of the Ruin of Britain, Extracts from the Letters of Gildas, a British Penitential, and the Lorica and Lives of Gildas. The Editor is now engaged upon the Historical and Critical Introduction to the Text, which will form Part iii, and complete the edition.

In the Press and nearly ready for issue:—

The Black Book of St. David's, edited and translated by Mr. J. W. Willis Bund, with an Introduction and a copious Index.

Part ii of the *Catalogue of MSS. relating to Wales in the British Museum*, compiled and annotated by Mr. Edward Owen.

The *Transactions* for the year now closing are in hand. The volume contains papers by Mr. W. Goscombe John, A.R.A., Mr. Darlington, H.M. Inspector of Schools, Mr. Hubert Hall, of the Public Record Office, and Mr. J. W. Willis Bund.

Y Cymmrodor, Vol. XV, is also in preparation, and is to contain articles on "Lewis Morris *(Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn)* in Cardiganshire", from original sources supplied by Sir Lewis Morris, and edited by Mr. D. Lleufer Thomas; "The Wogans of Boulston," written and illustrated by Mr. Francis Green; "The Life of St. Carannog," by the Rev. S. Baring Gould; and "Letters of Dr. John Davies, of Mallwyd" (1640-1641), transcribed by Mr. Edward Owen, and translated by the Rev. G. Hartwell Jones.

The Council would again remind the members that the numbers of the Cymmrodorion Record Series, which they receive free, or at a nominal price only, are paid for out of a Special Fund, and not out of the annual income of the Society. This year the Council was in a position to contribute from its income the sum of £50 to the Fund, but much more is required if the Fund is to answer the purpose for which it was established. The Council therefore commends it to the attention and generosity of the members, and desires in a special manner to thank one of the members of the Society (Mr. T. J. Harries), for the

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donation of 100 guineas which he gave towards the Fund at the last annual dinner. The Trustees, who will be glad to accept donations, are Sir John Williams, Bart., Sir W. Thomas Lewis, Bart., and Dr. Henry Owen, F.S.A. (High Sheriff of Pembrokeshire), and particulars can be obtained from the Secretary to the Society.

The following presents for the Library were gratefully received and acknowledged:—

Worcestershire County Records: Calendar of the Quarter Sessions Papers, Vol. i, 1591-1643, compiled by Mr. J. W. Willis Bund, chairman of the Worcestershire County Council. Presented by Mr. Willis Bund.

The Calendar of the University College of North Wales, presented by the Registrar.

The Calendar of the University of South Wales and Monmouthshire, presented by the Registrar.

Byegones, presented by Messrs. Woodall, Minshall, & Co.

Under the Society's Rules the term of office of the following officers expires:—

THE PRESIDENT,
THE VICE-PRESIDENTS,
THE AUDITORS,

and 10 members retire in accordance with Rule 4, viz.:—

MR. H. LLOYD ROBERTS.
MR. R. ARTHUR ROBERTS.
MR. RICHARD ROBERTS, B.A.
MR. J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A.
MR. HOWEL THOMAS.
MR. JOHN THOMAS (*Pencerdd Gwalia*).
MR. W. CAVE THOMAS, F.S.A.
SIR JOHN WILLIAMS, Bart.
MR. T. MARCHANT WILLIAMS, B.A.
MR. J. W. WILLIS BUND, F.S.A.

The Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year is appended to this Report.

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THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

Statement of Receipts and Payments.

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1900, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1901.

Cr. *Dr.*

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1900 ..	145	3	9	By Rent of Offices, Fire, and Lighting ..	78	17	8
„ Subscriptions received	437	12	10	„ Publications: Cost of Printing and Distributing,			
„ Sale of Publications	1	19	5	Viz.:—*Transactions*, 1899-1900 ..	94	5	4
				Y Cymmrodor, Vol. XIV.	78	8	0
				„ Editorial Expenses	13	13	0
				„ Donation to Cymmrodorion Record Series Fund	50	0	0
				„ General Printing	35	2	7
				„ Eisteddfod Section Expenses	10	2	8
				„ Lectures, Meetings, and Conversazione	47	18	0
				„ Library Expenses		8	6
				„ Stationery, Postage, and General Expenses	42	2	9
				„ Secretary's Remuneration	50	0	0
				„ Commission on Publications Sold and Subscriptions Collected	16	12	4
				„ Balance in hand	67	5	2
	£584	16	0		£584	16	0

Examined and found correct,

JOHN BURRELL, } *Joint*
ELLIS W. DAVIES, } *Hon. Auditors.*

H. LLOYD ROBERTS, *Treasurer.*
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1900-1901.

ART AND HANDICRAFT IN WALES:

SOME CRITICISMS AND SUGGESTIONS.[1]

By W. GOSCOMBE JOHN, A.R.A.

In the matter of Art and Handicraft, Wales differs but slightly from the other parts of the United Kingdom; what differences there happen to be are altogether of degree. At the present time, however, special opportunities exist for improvement, of which advantage should undoubtedly be taken.

First of all, before any advance or improvement can be made, there must be a frank recognition on the part of those in authority, that Art as a means of education and culture is as important as Science and Literature, and as worthy of a high position in the curriculum of our schools and universities.

It is not uncommon for a man of some reputed culture openly to confess that he knows nothing about Art, and that he is not at all interested in it. But, what would be

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, 6th March, 1901. Chairman, Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, R.A.

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thought of a man who admitted with the same diffidence that he knew nothing about Literature, and that he was not interested in it? Is there any reason why the one should be a less shameful confession than the other?

Art is an essential factor in the well-being of a state; a thing of real utility, and not a mere luxury or fine polish upon the surface. It is in fact a leaven and a pervading influence that lightens and brightens all that it touches, down to the most humble of our household goods. The simplest works of the carpenter, the smith, or the potter, may be given a new interest and beauty by a touch of it. It is as truly the inheritance of the poor as of the rich. In its effect it is the very fragrance and colour of life. A community that has no Art, whatever it may achieve in other directions, is a community without its fullness of joy and beauty, like a flower without colour or perfume.

The base upon which all the plastic and pictorial Arts rest is Handicraft, and from it they must take shape and find expression; for it is at once the foundation and the keystone of the structure. No country that neglects the training of its handicraftsmen can hope to produce great artists, any more than a gardener can hope to find fine fruit upon a tree that he has neglected. The artist must be first of all and essentially a craftsman. But he must also be a man of fine sensibilities, one who not only sees but deeply feels; one who not only feels but thinks. The great artists of all periods have been consummate craftsmen, revelling in the technicalities of their crafts, and always eager to learn new ways and methods of expression.

In many of the handicrafts, the wise patronage of the wealthy is still, and will ever be, a necessity, particularly in those that depend for their final expression and setting upon costly materials and surroundings. How limited would have been the expression of many handicrafts

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during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries had it not been for the Royal and Princely patronage that was bestowed upon them, and for the magnificent and enlarged opportunities thus given to the craftsman. In this matter I cannot refrain from mentioning a more modern example, that so nobly afforded by our former President, the late Lord Bute. Enough if I point to the many works carried out by him, and chief among them Cardiff Castle, which is a storehouse of beautiful craftsmanship. Here, under the guiding spirit of the late William Burges, A.R.A., numbers of men were trained in a manner that would have been impossible under ordinary circumstances. The one object aimed at throughout the workshops was excellence of workmanship; that is to say, not the mechanical repetition of spiritless machine-made forms, but simple, thorough, and manly individual work, in which the worker had joy and took responsibility, having praise for what he did well, and blame for what he did badly. Each department was under the immediate direction of a highly skilled worker, who was in intimate touch with Burges; the chief himself taking all the while the keenest interest in even the simplest details. The workshops thus became a centre in which scores of men received most excellent training. Municipalities can do a great deal in this matter of training, and also in giving young craftsmen opportunities of seeing and studying all that is best in other centres of Art and Industry, when they have learned all that can be taught them in their own districts. It is possible nowadays, indeed, to gain a considerable knowledge of technical things within very limited surroundings, owing to the improved means of education, and to the practical books which exist. This alone is not sufficient, however. In both painting and sculpture it is common to award travelling scholarships to successful students, but it

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is not usual to do so in the handicrafts. Now, this is to be regretted, because the young craftsman would be equally benefitted by such a course of study. It used to be, and perhaps it is now, the custom for the trade guilds of Germany to send their young workmen travelling when their period of apprenticeship was out. The German Government recognised the importance of this means of study at the last Paris Exhibition, and sent many young workmen there to study carefully the methods of different nations. As our trade guilds have ceased to be a real power in these matters, we must look for help and guidance to our various public and educational bodies. Already the London County Council has taken the matter seriously in hand and is doing admirable work, both in its schools and by the many scholarships it awards to young craftsmen; and in this has given an example that the same bodies in Wales might very well take.

Until recently the greatest and most valuable factor in the training of the craftsman was tradition: that handing down from father to son, from master to man, of particular methods and ways which had become, by the long practice of generations of workmen, those best suited to each particular craft. As time went on these methods were modified and subtly changed by the personal bias of each succeeding worker; thus the tradition was continually quickened. Under the old order to which I refer, artists and craftsmen (originally there seems to have been no distinction between them), were articled or apprenticed for a term of years to master workmen. In their turn, and in due time, they became workmen capable in all those things that could be taught, but prepared to contribute from their own personal sense of their craft to everything they did. Thus some would follow carefully in the footsteps of their masters, and in paths definitely shown to

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them; others would from the first break off and force their way into new and original directions, usually by the most subtle of changes. As a result of this, the world gained a wealth of beautiful craftsmanship, which we find on all hands, in our museums and galleries and homes; beautiful work of every kind, which could only have been produced by the accumulated knowledge and experience of generations.

The art-craftsman of to-day who is in earnest has to depend greatly upon our museums and galleries, which are to a very great extent the custodians of tradition. He has to gather up the threads from an almost hopeless tangle, and solve, as best he may, problems of the greatest difficulty, all of which were explained to his forerunner in a few words, or taught in a few lessons. This has tended, I am afraid, to a general laxity in craftsmanship and a want of authority in it which is much to be deplored.

Since our museums and galleries have tradition and craftsmanship in their keeping, it becomes a matter of vital importance that they shall be well arranged, and that those objects which they contain shall be chosen with knowledge and sound judgment. Decidedly they must not be what so many of our museums at present are: simply hap-hazard collections of curiosities and bric-a-brac, arranged without sequence, order, or intention, where one has to waste endless time in searching for what is wanted, finding it eventually, perhaps, in the strangest possible company, the sole idea being apparently to get as great a variety of objects as possible into the narrowest space. Instead of this, our young craftsman should be able to find, with as little delay as possible, all the essential things of his craft, much in the same way that the young student in Science may find them in those well-ordered collections for the study of natural history which may be seen in the

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Natural History Museum at South Kensington. Occasional lectures again, by practical workers in the Arts and Handicrafts, would be of very great service in aiding the study of well-chosen examples. A few years ago I was much struck by the admirably-arranged series of rooms in some of the larger museums of Switzerland, particularly in that of Berne. The series covered in all a period of several centuries; and each room, in no case a large one, was fitted up with the actual objects of the period. The effect of each and all was wonderfully real and instructive. In one you seemed to get the actual atmosphere of the middle ages; the old things that in so many English museums appear like dead things, seemed to live again. If I remember rightly there were two rooms devoted to each period, a kitchen and a sitting-room; and their effect was lifelike and real, because everything was in its relatively proper place and was useable.

Whilst speaking of museums, I should like to touch upon the excellent work done under the auspices of the Cardiff Museum, in forming a collection of casts of the early ornamented stones and crosses of Wales. But the country has also other and later artistic things that should be taken into account. It is rich in old oak furniture, much of it having a most strongly-marked character, as in its tall dressers and cupboards, and notably the "cwpbwrdd tridarn"; all being most substantially made and of simple and workmanlike design. These old pieces of furniture are much sought after by dealers and collectors; not long ago I saw, in a London shop, several old Welsh kitchen dressers for sale, and upon enquiry was told that the dealers had just come back from Wales with ten of them. This is, I think, a matter for regret, for their places are being filled with the commonest of modern factory-made work, frequently made to look old by cheap trickery.

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I hope that some museum will take this matter in hand, and do for old Welsh furniture what is being done so providentially for old Welsh crosses.

Much might be done to foster a love for such simple and well-designed work, and perhaps also to create a new demand for it, by the National Eisteddfod and the Welsh Industries Association. Essentially carpenters' furniture, it could be made by village craftsmen. It does not require the finished skill that more elaborate cabinetmaking demands. In fact a certain roughness seems to be characteristic of even the best specimens; but then it is characteristic roughness, not the roughness of slovenly and careless work.

Some years ago, at the National Eisteddfod, one of the subjects set for competition was an oak "cwpbwrdd tridarn"; while another was, if I remember rightly, a carved clock case. On examining the pieces in both competitions, I was astonished to find that those which had received the prizes were composite articles, partly old and partly new, the whole given an appearance of age by a coating of dark brown varnish. Close at hand, as if to court comparison, was an artistically-designed and well constructed "cwpbwrdd" with charming bits of characteristic carving, and even with a little inlay in the solid. The whole work looked as it should, clearly new and of recent make, but, sad to relate, it had received no award. This is not the way to help and encourage honest and thorough craftsmanship.

The efforts of the Art Section of the National Eisteddfod should be devoted more strictly to the educational side of Art, and should above all things direct and encourage, and not alone reward. Simply to give prizes for carved oak bardic chairs, historical pictures, and portrait busts, while neglecting to see that chairs, whether bardic or not, shall

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be well constructed and properly made, before they are carved, is of no use whatsoever. Similarly, before students paint pictures and model portrait busts, let us ask that they shall know how to draw and to paint and to model simple studies, otherwise we run a risk of setting a premium upon slipshod work, and of encouraging the belief that the winning of the prize justifies any kind of work, however bad it may happen to be.

Genius in Art cannot be discovered by the offering of a prize; neither can a National School of Art be founded by even a lavish distribution of rewards. Thus one, as fully as the other, depends upon that love of, and attention to, study, and that steady pursuit of it for its own sake, which have ever been the only roads to genuine distinctive achievement. This applies not alone to the fine arts, but to those everyday handicrafts which more than even Painting or Sculpture, go to make life happy and the home beautiful.

The Welsh Industries Association is doing much, I believe, to encourage and revive a love for what is good in Art and Handicraft in Wales. Its main object is not perhaps only educational; but in all those crafts with which it has to deal, it must see that nothing but the most sterling workmanship is encouraged, and that common and trashy designs are never carried out under its auspices, simply because they happen to be in demand.

Technical Schools will do much to help in this matter, though there is a danger of its being neutralised by the large amateur element that often preponderates in the classes devoted to the Art Handicrafts. Many of the classes are composed largely of students who are not working at the handicraft taught, and who never intend to do so, but who happen to have a good deal of leisure and industry which they devote to the ornamentation of every-

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thing within reach, usually something that would be much nicer if it were left plain. This is, of course, difficult to prevent, even if it were desirable to do so. The plan which is adopted in some of the London Craft Schools is, I think, a wise one, though it may appear to be somewhat severe. In these schools only those who spend the day working at a particular craft are allowed to study it in the evening. Now this would hardly be practicable in districts of comparatively small population, but it is, I fear, the only means by which the greatest good can be got from Technical Schools; for, unless the evening training comes as an added quantity, it can serve no really efficient purpose. There will always be plenty of opportunities for the amateurs of Art Handicraft to get the best teaching; and it is clear that our public Technical Schools have a much more serious work to fulfil than to provide pleasure and recreation for those who are not, and who never intend to be, craftsmen; but who, with praiseworthy industry and often considerable talent, devote their leisure to artistic study.

This brings me to the question of what crafts are most suited and give the greatest chances of success to women, who to so large an extent form this amateur class of which I have been speaking. Happily there are many delightful crafts in which women have distinguished themselves, and in many of which they still do so, and stand unrivalled. Pray do not think that I suggest a limit to the freedom of women in their choice; I only wish to say how strongly I feel the suitability of one craft and the unsuitability of another. What possibilities embroidery offers for example, and what scope it gives to those with fancy and imagination, even with quite modest powers of design. The late Sir Edward Burne-Jones was fond of declaring that the collection of embroideries in the South Kensington

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Museum was the finest school of ornament in existence. Nor is it alone a school of ornament; there can be seen the actual craft as well, from the simple and dignified designs and the beautiful stitching of the ancient Egyptians, to the splendours of Medieval, Persian, and Chinese needlework. All kinds of materials seem to have been used by the imaginative worker, from the finest cloths of gold that are studded with jewels, to the common patchwork of rags, spotted here and there with bits of looking-glass. Embroidery has lost its glory in these days, not because fingers are less deft or industrious than they were of old, but because we have lost, to a great extent, in our hurry and rush, that leisurely, childlike joy in the simpler beauties of nature, and in the honest doing, for mere pleasure, of laborious and lengthening tasks. We have infinite love for the grandeur of the mountain, but little time, or inclination, to stop by the way to admire the daisy or the violet. To embroidery may be added lace-making. It seems strange that the making of lace should now be left almost entirely to the humbler of our workers, who to a great extent repeat bygone patterns of no great interest; there is no artistic reason why it should not be taken up seriously by women trained in design; the craft is not a difficult one, and might, as of old, be made a means of true artistic expression.

Many of our young women who crowd the various Art Schools all over the country, studying Painting and Sculpture with so little chance of ultimate success, might earn distinction by taking up some of those handicrafts of which embroidery is an example. It is hopeful and encouraging to know that many of our schools recognise this, and to see that really good work is being done by women in a great variety of crafts that were until recently considered, for some strange reason, unworthy

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of the serious attention of those who devoted themselves to Art.

Splendid as the Art of the past has been in all great qualities of design, the study of it alone will sooner or later end in the repetition of dead and inanimate forms. The early work of all periods, however crude it may have been, was instinct with life and movement, which was the direct result of the love and study of nature. Therefore the importance of Art-Craftsmen studying natural forms, as well as artistic ones, cannot be too strongly insisted upon, for by these means alone can life and spirit be imparted to designs. On all sides Nature offers suggestions to the sympathetic designer; we have still the same means at our disposal as our forefathers had, we only want the power to see and to do.

Let us learn to work as well as may be, guided by all that is best in the Art of the past; then let us see for ourselves, not through spectacles merely, seeing only "classic," or "gothic," or "renaissance," but fearlessly expressing what we feel and see through our own modern selves. We still have nature with us, infinite in variety, unattainable in beauty. Let us then reverently and honestly trust in her, with the surest confidence that she will in no way betray us, but will brighten and animate even our most crude and simple efforts. "Happy is the artist who can say at any period of his career, Without nature I am lost!"—so said Benjamin Robert Haydon. Nature is the basis of all design; and in all great periods the trust in her has been absolute. However much we trust in past epochs for help, we must not fail to remember that we work for our contemporaries. The Greek artist worked to please Greeks, the Italian artist to please Italians, and we, in our turn, if we be true to ourselves, must work to please those about us. It is sheer affecta-

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tion to pretend to do otherwise. If we fail, no amount of archæology and learning will save us, our work must bear the impress of our time, and be characteristic of the period in which we live, to be truly valuable. This is a most strongly marked and indispensable feature of all the finest work.

In conclusion, I would say to the students, go into the woods and watch the ferns bursting up through the soft earth in velvety spiral, and examine with care the buds of the ground-ivy or the pyramids of blossom upon the chesnut-tree. Observe, again, the dainty and slender grace of the columbine and the wood sorel, and see, too, how the daisies dapple the green meadow, clustering here and there into a milky-way. Go amongst the golden corn, and see it jewelled with scarlet poppies and azure corn flowers. Wander down to the sea-shore, and ramble amongst the low rocks to note the curious variety and twisting forms of the sea-weed, as it grows in bosses and falls into festoons, with shells or tiny crabs to give it life and movement. Go anywhere in fact, where you can learn to appreciate the glories of Nature; and do not let the Museum or the Art Gallery, however well arranged, supply her place. Let her inspire you, and be thankful if you can appreciate and enjoy her; and humbly pray that you may some day be able to understand a little of her infinite wonder and beauty, and help, through Art, to interpret her tomen.

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SOME DIALECTAL BOUNDARIES IN MID-WALES:

WITH NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE PALATALIZATION OF LONG A.[1]

By THOMAS DARLINGTON, M.A.

(H.M. Inspector of Schools for the Aberystwyth District).[2]

The district with which I propose to deal in the present paper, and which is commonly, though rather loosely, known as Mid-Wales, may be defined as comprising the whole of the county of Merioneth with North Cardiganshire on the west, and the whole of the counties of Montgomery and Radnor with the adjacent portions of Denbigh and Brecknock on the east. The district thus belongs partly to North, and partly to South Wales, but I need scarcely remind my present audience that in the region of dialectal investigation this geographical distinction is quite irrelevant, since many of the dialectal phenomena popularly

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, 8th May, 1901. Chairman, Principal Rhys, LL.D.

[2] In the phonetic notation used in this paper all symbols have their usual Welsh value, where the contrary is not indicated; but the distinction between open and close vowel-sounds is expressed by printing the former in italics; thus (*ē*) represents the long open vowel heard in English *care*, (ō) the vowel in Welsh *dol*, as pronounced in Carnarvonshire. The extra symbols required for English sounds are provided as follows:—(ô) represents the long open vowel in E. *shawl*: (æ) the short Southern English *a*, as in *man*: (ə) the short English *u*, as in *cut*; and (ə̆) the obscure vowel so common in unaccented syllables in English. All letters or words written in this phonetic notation are enclosed within brackets.

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supposed to be specially characteristic of South Wales are found to exist equally in a large portion of Montgomery and Merioneth also. This is the case with respect to two of the three points I propose to consider this evening, viz., the South Welsh pronunciation of *u* and initial *chw*. As to the third point, the palatalized or so-called "narrow" pronunciation of long *a*, I hope to show that any attempt to discriminate between North and South Wales in this connexion would be especially misleading, since this pronunciation was in its origin characteristic of the border country of Mid and South Wales alike.

I proceed to describe, in the first place, the northern boundary of what is known as the South Welsh pronunciation of *u* (*y*), as in *bu*, *llys*, *ufudd*, *hyn*; that is to say, the pronunciation which makes no distinction between *i* and *u*. Starting from the coast near Tonfannau Station on the Cambrian Railway, this boundary-line runs through Rhoslefain and Llanegryn, then passes to the south of Abergynolwyn, and crosses the hill to Esgairgeiliog; thence leaving Corris and Aberllefenni to the north, it runs down Cwmllecoediog to Aberangell. From this place to Llanerfyl in the valley of the Banw, the boundary-line is formed by the watershed which separates the valley of the Banw and those of its tributaries from the valleys watered by the tributaries of the Dovey. From Llanerfyl the line crosses the ridge between the Banw and the Vyrnwy (here also called the Bechan), passes between Pont Dolanog and Pont Robert, and then, leaving Llwydiarth and Llanfihangel-yng-Nghwynfa well to the north, follows the watershed between the Vyrnwy and the Cain to Llansaintffraid, where the English-speaking portion of Montgomeryshire is reached. Llansaintffraid itself is for the most part English-speaking, but so far as can be ascertained, the South Welsh pronunciation of *u* pre-

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dominates among those natives of the place who still speak Welsh.

Where in the above statement the boundary-line is said to pass *through* a village it is meant that the pronunciation of the vowel *u* is found to be mixed, either in the sense that some of the inhabitants use the S.W. vowel, and some the N.W. vowel, as is the case at Rhoslefain and Bwlchycibau; or that an intermediate vowel, very like the ordinary English (short) *i*, is used, as is the case at Llanerfyl.

There can be no doubt that the area of the S.W. vowel is spreading northward. This is partly due to the spread of a knowledge of English, since careless bilingual speakers will not trouble to distinguish sufficiently between the English *i* and the N.W. *u*. The influence of the school often reinforces this tendency. Children who have been taught in their English reading lesson to pronounce the English *sit* correctly, tend to pronounce the Welsh *sut* in precisely the same way, unless they have been systematically drilled in the difference between the two sounds. But the spread of the S.W. vowel is also due to the influence of certain market-towns, such as Machynlleth and Towyn. For instance, although in the above statement I have placed Corris distinctly within the N.W. area, a tendency to use the S.W. vowel is to be clearly traced among the younger inhabitants of the place. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that the railway has brought the Corris people of late years into much closer touch with Machynlleth, while their connexion with Dolgelly has been proportionately weakened.

I come now to the pronunciation of initial *chw* as *wh*, *i.e.*, as a voiceless *w* plus an aspirate. On the western side of the country the northern boundary of this pronunciation is a little difficult to fix with precision, as the *ch*

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before *w* is, in the district of Aberdovey and Machynlleth, pronounced so weak as to approximate to the S.W. sound, which frequently replaces it. In Machynlleth itself the S.W. sound predominates, though not to the exclusion of the standard pronunciation, which persists especially in an intervocalic position, as in *tri a chwech*. The influence of literary Welsh also tends in favour of the introduction of the N.W. sound, even where it is not native. For example, the N.W. sound is heard at Llanbrynmair, but I am nevertheless convinced that the S.W. pronunciation is the normal one at this place. This mixed pronunciation extends right up the Dovey valley as far as Aberangell, from which point onwards the boundary-line becomes practically coincident with that between the N. and S. pronunciations of *u*. There is always a fringe of country, however, to the north of the *u*-line, where the *ch* is very indistinctly pronounced. Thus, at Hafod in the parish of Llanerfyl, at Llangadfan, Pont Dolanog, Llwydiarth and Llanfihangel, and again at Llanfyllin and Llanfechain in the valley of the Cain, a weak *ch* is usual. It is not until we reach such places as Garthbeibio, Llanwddyn, Hirnant, Llanrhaiadr-yn-Mochnant, that a full and distinct *chw* is pronounced, as in Carnarvonshire or North Merionethshire. Places on the *u*-line tend to the South Welsh rather than the North Welsh pronunciation of *chw*; at Llanerfyl, for example, the weak *ch* sometimes heard appears to be exceptional. South and east of the *u*-line, *e.g.*, at Pont Robert, Llanfair Caereinion, Meifod, the N.W. pronunciation of *chw* is never heard in colloquial Welsh.

I have now to describe the geographical limits within which "narrow" long *a* (as in *glās, māes*) prevails in Mid-Wales. Both the northern and, up to a certain point, the southern boundaries of this dialectal district are com-

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paratively easy to define, as they are for the most part coincident with natural boundaries, such as watersheds or rivers.

Starting from the coast, the northern boundary is as follows:—First, Traeth Bach; then the boundary between the parishes of Llandecwyn and Maentwrog; then that between the parishes of Maentwrog and Trawsfynydd; then, successively, the watersheds between the Mawddach and the Dee, the Dee and the Vyrnwy, the Dee and the Ceiriog, the Ceiriog and the Tanat. The boundary line meets the English border at Llansilin, where both the narrow and the broad sounds are heard from natives. It thus excludes Rhydycroesau and the upper valley of the Cynllaith. As to the Welsh region to the east of the English border, the testimony of place-names, such as Llwyn-y-maen (mēn), between Trefonen and Oswestry, as compared with Caeglas (kai-glas) in Oswestry, points to the dialectal boundary being coincident with the parish boundary between Trefonen and Oswestry. It is, however, difficult to be certain what the native pronunciation of Welsh in Trefonen really is, as English now predominates there, and of those who speak Welsh, many seem to be immigrants.

The southern boundary is as follows:—First, the low ridge of hills between Eglwysfach and Tre'rddol in North Cardiganshire, then the Plynlymon watershed, or what comes to the same thing, the boundary between the counties of Montgomery and Cardigan. When the border of Radnorshire is reached, the river Elan becomes the boundary, until its junction with the Wye. From this point, eastward and southward, we are dealing with a purely English-speaking district, and are therefore driven back upon the evidence afforded by the pronunciation of place-names. So far as can be judged by this kind of

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evidence, which is often meagre enough for the purpose, the Wye now becomes the boundary, certainly as far as Builth, though the degree of palatalization is here slight. The line then turns southward in the direction of Brecon, where Llanfaes is pronounced (Lanvēs). I am unable to indicate precisely the direction of the boundary-line from this point to the borders of Gwent and Morgannwg. But the enquiries I have made leave no doubt on my mind that the palatalized pronunciation of long *a*, here equivalent to (ē), is normal in the pronunciation of Welsh place-names over the whole of English-speaking Breconshire between the Wye and the Usk. This point appears to have been missed by previous writers on the subject, and it is of course of great importance, since the gap is thus bridged over between the two great dialectal regions in which the narrow long *a* has been recognized as prevailing, namely, the Mid-Wales region on the one hand, and that of Gwent and Morgannwg on the other. It therefore follows that this must be regarded as the normal pronunciation of Welsh long *a* all along the border from Oswestry to the mouth of the Wye. It should be added that a palatalized pronunciation of *ā* (or *āe*) occurs sporadically in names of places which lie as far outside the above defined area as, *e.g.*, Llandovery, Aberystwyth, and Cardigan.

The palatalization varies considerably in character in different parts of the defined area, all the main stages through which Elizabethan long *a* in English has passed in its progress towards its present diphthongized pronunciation (e^{i}), being represented in Mid-Wales. On the fringes of the district, *e.g.*, at Llanrhaiadr and Trawsfynydd or Talsarnau, the sound heard is the long vowel corresponding to the short *a* (æ)in Southern English *man*: *e.g.*, *y gath fach* (g^{i}ǣth vǣch). Nearer the centre, *e.g.*, at Llanbrynmair or Dolgelley, it is an open *e*-sound, like the

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vowel-sound in E. *care* (y g'ēth vēch). Finally, over the whole of the anglicised portion of the district it is a close *e*-sound, like the vowel-sound in E. *Kate*, when pronounced as a monophthong, *e.g.*, Vronlas (vronlḗs), Maesmawr (mḗsmor). The development of this close *e* from the open *e* of the Welsh-speaking districts is probably to be regarded as a purely English phenomenon. The same may be true of the short (æ) as in *man*, which is used in Radnorshire. There is no trace of this short (æ) in any Welsh-speaking district, except in the solitary instance of *mam*, where presumably the palatalization has either been caused, or preserved, by habitual collocations such as "tad a mam", "mam bach" (mæm bæ̈ch, mem bēch). Short (æ) appears to be equally unknown to the dialect of the English-speaking districts of Montgomeryshire. The Severn valley pronunciation of *cat*, *catch*, is consistently (k'at, k'atsh),[1] not (k'æt, k'ætsh), as in Radnorshire.

It remains to notice the treatment of the diphthongs of which long *a* forms the first element, viz., *āe* and *āw*. Both of these diphthongs are at present pronounced in the Welsh-speaking parts of the district under consideration, and in all but the easternmost fringe of the English-speaking portions, with the narrow *a*. But there is reason to suppose that, at any rate as regards *āe*, the narrowing of the *a* took place later, and probably much later, than in the simple vowel. This seems to follow from the fact that

[1] It is worth while to observe here that the palatalization of an initial *k* or *g* is in no wise dependent on the palatalization of the following *a*. Palatalized *k* and *g* occurs regularly before short (a) in Montgomeryshire: *e.g.*, afon gam (avon g'am); and before both short and long (a) in South East Carnarvonshire: *e.g.* (g'ath). A precisely similar phenomenon is observable in the English border dialects of Cheshire and North Shropshire, where also guttural consonants are palatalized before long and short (a) as well as before palatal vowels.

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in the parts of the district where Welsh died out earliest, the broad sound is preserved in place-names in the first element of *ae*, though the simple vowel has the narrow pronunciation. Examples from different points along the border are:—Porth-y-Waen near Oswestry, Caegweision in the parish of Kinnerley, Cae-gwy in the parish of Churchstoke, Maes-y-crwyn in the parish of Chirbury, Maes-gwaster near Knighton (on the Salop side of the border). In the foregoing examples, which it will be noticed are nearly all from Shropshire, the *ae* is diphthongally pronounced, viz., as (ai). Some instances from Radnorshire, on the other hand, simplify the diphthong into *ā*; *e.g.*, Maesgwyn (two miles east of Llanbadarn-fynydd) pronounced (Mās-gwin), Blaencwm in the parish of Llangynllo, pronounced (Blānkwm). Blaen-y-plwyf (blainə-plwiv *or* bleinə plwiv) in the parish of Bleddfa, retains the diphthongal sound, but the occurrence of Cae Huw with the simple front vowel (kʻē) in the same neighbourhood suggests that the word meant is really Blaenau plwyf, and if so, the treatment of the *ae* in the penultimate, where of course the first element of the diphthong is not long, would be quite normal; compare the pronunciation of Llaethty (leiti), commonly spelt *Llaithdu*, in the parish of Llanbadarn-fynydd. In an unaccented position the diphthong *ae* frequently becomes a short monophthong (æ): thus Blaen-y-cwm in the parish of Llandewy Ystradenny, where *blaen* is pronounced (blăn). In the south of Radnorshire and in Brecknockshire *maes* is regularly thus shortened in an unaccented position; for example Maesllwch, Maescoed, (Măslẃk, Măskṓd). Many of these shortenings are in all probability very old, as is certainly the case with Cascob (=Cae Esgob).[1]

[1] Compare the following shortenings of the simple vowel from the English-speaking region near Oswestry: Caeglas (Kaiglăs) in Oswestry, Plas Griffith, Plas gwyn (Plăzgriffith, Plăzgwín), in Whittington.

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The instance of broad long *a* for *ae* from the neighbourhood of Llanbadarn Fynydd, given above, appears to indicate that the palatalization of *ae* is a very recent phenomenon, as the broad *a* is only preserved in purely English-speaking districts, and the village of Llanbadarn Fynydd, at any rate, did not become such until after the middle of last century. The same conclusion is suggested by the occasional pronunciation of *ae* as (ēĕ), which one hears from older people in the Welsh-speaking districts of Mid-Wales. The tradition of the diphthong is, as it were, preserved in this pronunciation, the two elements, similar as they are, not yet having had time to become fused.

Before proceeding further, it will be well to call special attention to the extent of country over which the long palatalized *a* has been shown to exist. It is used in the greater part of Glamorganshire, throughout the whole of the counties of Monmouth, Radnor, and Montgomery, over much of Brecknock and Merioneth, and it also affects portions of Cardigan, Denbigh, and Salop. By far the greater part of the population of Wales use it, either in their everyday speech, or at least in their pronunciation of local place-names. Although large tracts of the country over which it prevails have been lost to the Welsh language, it is probably still the habitual and natural pronunciation of nearly half the Welsh-speaking population of Wales and the Marches. It is clear that we have here to do with a most important and widely spread dialectal phenomenon. In fact there is no other divergence from the normal Welsh sound-system of anything like the same degree of importance, with the possible exception of the two points we have already considered, namely, the *i* (for *u*) and *hw* (for *chw*) of South Wales. My reason for insisting upon the importance of the long narrow *a* will be evident in connexion with the discussion of the ques-

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tion—to which I now proceed—as to the period when this long palatal *a* was developed.

It has hitherto been assumed that the palatalization of long *a*, at any rate in Mid-Wales, is very old, dating in fact to a period anterior to the earliest written monuments in the Welsh language. I am heterodox enough to believe, on the contrary, that it is not older than the 17th century. My reasons are, briefly, that prior to that century, there is an entire absence of evidence of its existence, either in the history of the language, or in the literature, or in the statements of grammatical and phonetic authorities.

I proceed in the first place to give some reasons for supposing it to have been unknown to Old and Mediæval Welsh.

Sometime before the 8th century, all original long *a*'s in Welsh (in accentuated syllables, at all events) had become *aw*. The dialects of Mid-Wales formed no exception to this rule. Here, as elsewhere, the old Welsh long *a*, whether native or borrowed, is consistently represented by *aw*, as in *brawd*, *ffawd*. Nor does the first element of this diphthong, in its present day pronunciation, shew any sign of palatalization, except only in open monosyllables, as *llaw*, *rhaw*, etc., where the first element was lengthened later, and so became subject to the same influences as have affected the simple long vowel.

We find, then, no trace of the palatalization of long *a* in Mid-Wales up to the 8th century.

At some time after the change of original long *a* to *aw* was completed, or at least well advanced, a new set of long *a*'s came into existence in Welsh, owing to the lengthening of original short *a* before certain consonants, such as *s*, *d*; e.g., *glas*, *tad*. But this lengthening took place only in monosyllables, the original short quality of

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the vowel being preserved in all other cases: thus we have *Glăscwm* and *Gwenlăs* corresponding to *glās*, *tădau* corresponding to *tād*. The new long *a*'s were also reinforced by the introduction of Norman-French or English words containing long *a*, as *plās*. These foreign long *a*'s accommodated themselves in all respects to the native rule of correspondence between longs and shorts, so that while the *a* of *plas* retained its length in the monosyllabic singular *plās*, it became short in the dissyllabic plural *plăsau*.

This law of correspondence between long and short vowels was probably established early, though I am not aware that we have the means of fixing the date with any approximation to accuracy. It was, however, fully carried out in the Middle Welsh period. The point of importance for my present purpose is that whensoever this correspondence was established, the development of narrow long *a* in Mid-Wales or elsewhere must have been posterior to it. The lengthening of short broad *a* in *glas* can only (at first) have given long broad *a*, and not a narrow long *a*, such as is heard in Mid and South-East Wales. Again, the shortening of the vowel in *plas* must have taken place while it was still broad, or we should have had a narrow short *a* in *plasau*. But the correspondence of long narrow *a* with short broad *a* in spoken Welsh is, in the district under consideration, complete.

The conclusion we are entitled to draw from these phonetic considerations is that the development of long narrow *a* must be at any rate later than the first Middle Welsh period.

This conclusion is confirmed by the absence, so far as has been ascertained, of all trace of the long narrow *a*, whether as a monophthong or as the first element in a diphthong, in Mediæval Welsh literature. I do not claim any such first-hand acquaintance with this literature as

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would justify me in speaking with confidence on this point of my own knowledge; but I am unable to discover by enquiry from Welsh scholars that any mediæval poet who wrote in the districts which now use the narrow long *a*, shows any trace of this pronunciation, either in spelling or rhyme.

Now leaving the middle ages behind us, we come to the 16th century, where at length we find something in the nature of positive evidence that the long narrow *a* was then unknown in Wales. Our first witness shall be William Salesbury. In "A playne and a familiar introduction, teaching how to pronounce the letters in the Brytishe tongue, now commonly called Welshe. . . Set forth by W. Salesbury, 1550. And now, 1567, pervsed and augmented by the same:" we find the following statement, under the heading "The pronounciation of *a*."

"A in the British in euerye word hath ye true pronounciation of *a* in Latine. And it is neuer sounded like the diphthong *au*, as the Frenchmen sounde it commynng before *m* or *n*, in theyr toungue, nor so fully in the mouth as the Germaynes sound it in this woord *wagen*. . . . . But as I sayd before *a* in Welsh hath alwayes but one sound, what so euer letter it folow or go before, as in these wordes *ap*, *cap*, whych haue the same pronounciation and signification in both the tongues"—*i.e.*, in Welsh and English.

The identification of the Welsh vowel with the Latin *a*, its slight differentiation from the German *a* in *wagen*, and finally its identification with the *a* of contemporary English pronunciation, all make it certain that Salesbury's Welsh *a* was the broad guttural *a* of North Wales, and that he knew no other. In the "litle treatyse of the

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englyshe pronunciation of the letters" which he prefixed to his Dictionary, published in 1547, he had already stated the identity of the English and Welsh *a*, as follows :— "A Seisnic sydd vn natur ac (a) gymreic/val y may yn eglur yn y geirieu hyn o saesnec ale/aal: ac ymhymraec kwrw: pale/paal: sale/saal." I need scarcely remind the members of this learned Society that at the time Salesbury wrote, and for some time after, the English long *a* retained its mediæval value, that is, it was identical with the *a* of French, Italian and Spanish. This is made quite certain by the statements of contemporary authorities. It is also a necessary inference from the present pronunciation in Welsh of those borrowed words, the date of the introduction of which can be assigned with certainty to the Elizabethan period, such as *tatws*. A pronunciation such as (potētoz) could only have given *tetws* in Welsh, and not *tatws*.

Salesbury, then, clearly knew nothing of the long narrow *a*. This, perhaps, would prove little as to its existence or otherwise, if we were not able to point to the fact that Salesbury was an acute and precise observer of phonetic and dialectal differences. In the treatises from which I have already quoted he does actually make a point of noting variations from standard pronunciation, both in Welsh and English. See his remarks in the "litle treatyse", s. v. *gh*[1] and *l* (*ll*),[2] and in the "Intro-

[1] "A vegys y mayn anhowddgar gan saeson glywed rhwnck y llythyr hon gh/velly may Kymbry deheubarth yn gwachel son am ch, ond lleiaf gallant. Can ti ay klywy hwy yn dywedyt hwaer a hwech lle ddym ni o ogledd kymbry yn dywedyt chwaer a chwech."

[2] "Ond yn rhyw wledydd yn lloecr val w y traythant l/ac ll mewn rhyw eirieu val hyn bowd yn lle bold: bw dros bull/caw dros cal. Ond nid yw fath ddywediat onid llediaith/ac nid peth yw ddylyn oni vynny vloysci y gyd a bloyscon."

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duction", s. v. *ch*, *f*,[1] and *u*.[2] His observations on the Southwalian pronunciation of *u* and *chw* are especially significant in this respect, for, important as these dialectal phenomena undoubtedly were, they were, if anything, less likely to strike Salesbury's attention than the long narrow *a*, if it existed. Assuming that it did exist, and had reached its present limits, it not only occupied all the most accessible parts of Wales, but was actually used within Salesbury's own county of Denbigh. The presumption is therefore as strong as it well could be that, as Salesbury is silent about any such pronunciation of the long *a*, it did not then exist.

A similar line of argument is applicable to a passage in Dr. John David Rhys' *Cambro-Brytannicae Cymraecaeve Linguae Institutiones et Rudimenta* (London, 1592), to which my attention was first called by Professor Anwyl. Speaking of the letter *a* the author says (p. 7) :—

"Hanc literam cymraei, oris rictu mediocriter hiante, spiritusque conatu decoro ac venusto, moderata etiam vocis tum claritate, tum apertione pronunciant.

"Cymraece igitur hoc elementum proferre volenti, non minus A clausi crassive vitandus est obscurior sonus, quam eius qui vel ab impense constrictis bronchi musculis formatur angustus nimis

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[1] "I my selfe haue heard Englysh men in some countries of England sound f, euen as we sound it in Welsh. For I haue marked their maner of pronounciation, and speciallye in soundynge these woordes: voure, viue, disvigure, vish, vox: where they would say, foure, fiue, disfigure, fish, fox, &c."

[2] "Therefore who so euer wyll distinctlye learne the Welsh sound of u let hym once geue eare to a Northen Welsh man, whan he speaketh in Welsh, the wordes that signifie in English obedient (or) chaff singlerly: whyche be these in Welshe, uvudd, usun. . . . . Thys u is more in vre wyth vs of North Wales than wyth theim of the South parteis; whose wryters abuse it, whan they wryte thus, un yn for yn un."

(All the above quotations from Salesbury, as also those given later from Wallis and Cooper, are copied from Ellis' "*Early English Pronunciation.*)

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exilisque, et puerorum vagitui non absimilis, vel qui a plus iusto nonnullorum affectata et effeminata oris diductione audiri solet.

"Itali praesertim Hetrusci tum vernacule tum Latine loquentes, omnium optime hoc cymraecum, apertum et clarum A proferunt, quod olim a nobis . . . . observatum est . . .

"Angli istud A fere edunt in vocibus *Pale, ale, sale, wan, pan, phan,* &c., at non in vocibus *hall, shall, call, mall:* ubi A ante ll geminatum crassius auditur: neque in dictionibus quibus mulierculae nonnullae & puellae anglicanae nimis anguste ipsum A expediunt, quum pro *shame* shæme, pro *marie* mærie, pro *Jane* Iæne, pro *James* Iæmes, pro *chamber* chæmber, etc., pronunciant."

The author's description of the Welsh *a* in the first paragraph above quoted is hardly precise enough to satisfy a modern phonetician: nor is the identity of the three sounds with which he proceeds to contrast it clear beyond a doubt, though I think the sounds he probably had in mind were what Dr. Sweet would call *low-back-narrow, low-front-wide,* and *low-back-wide* respectively. When, however, he tells us that the "clear, open Welsh *a*" was pronounced precisely as in Latin and Italian, we know that we are following a safe guide: for John David Rhys was a famous scholar both in Latin and Italian, and had resided long in Italy, where he had taken his Doctor's degree at the University of Sienna, and had even written a learned book in Italian. His testimony, therefore, as to the identity of the Welsh with the Italian *a* is unimpeachable. He recognises no other pronunciation of *a* in Welsh; the normal English *a*, he tells us, is practically the same, though he does mention, with a fine scholarly contempt, another pronunciation, affected by a few women and girls in England, in which the *a* was being modified in the direction of *e*.

Now, assuming that the palatalized pronunciation of long *a* in Mid and South-East Wales was then in existence, is it conceivable that John David Rhys should not have been aware of it, and being aware of it, should not have mentioned it? It must be borne in mind that the

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greater part of the years during which he resided in Wales were spent in, or in close touch with, the very region where the palatalized pronunciation is now in vogue. His childhood and part of his adult life were passed at St. Donat's, in Glamorganshire. He composed the major part of his *Welsh Grammar* at the house of Morgan Meredith, near Beguildy, in Radnorshire, where he was a frequent and a welcome guest. At other times he lived on his own little property at Clun Hir, near the Brecon Beacons.[1] He must therefore have been familiar with the palatal pronunciation of long *a*, if it existed, from a child, and it must, one would think, have seemed to him the normal and correct pronunciation. Let us suppose, however, that he was led to reject his native pronunciation in favour of one which appealed to him as being more in harmony with Italian and English modes of speech. Is it in that case likely that he would have failed to condemn the despised pronunciation, when used by others of his fellow-countrymen? We have seen that he does condemn a similar fashion of speech on English lips, though only used by a few women and girls. How, while seeing so clearly the mote in the eye of his English neighbours, could he have neglected to point out the beam that was in his countrymen's eye? It is fairer to conclude that the beam did not exist.

It may serve to confirm the conclusions we have already

[1] "A'mwyaf parth o'r llyfr yma a fyfyriwyd ac a feddyliwyd yn gyntaf, ynn Nhy y Pendefic M. Morgan Meredydd o ymyl y Bugeildy ynn Nyffryn Tafida o fywn Swydd Faesyfed: ynn y lle lawer gwaith y bu fawr fy nghroeso, a'm hansawdd o fwyt a llyn, gan y gwrda a'r 'wreicdda. Eithr diweddbarth y Llyfr hynn, a fyfyriwyd dann berthi a dail gleision mywn gronyn o fangre i mi fyhunan a elwir y Clun Hir, ym mlaen Cwmm y Llwch, a thann Odreuon Mynydd Bannwchdêni. Rhai a eilw y Mynydd hynn (Bann Arthur) eraill (Moel Arthur)." Address to the Welsh people, prefixed to the abovementioned work.

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reached, if we briefly mention the fact that Dr. Davies, of Mallwyd, writing in the very heart of what is now the district of the palatal *a*, makes no mention of it, though his reference on p. 3 of his *Grammar* to the South Welsh treatment of *chw* shows him to have been not unobservant of dialectal distinctions. Both in his *Grammar* and his *Dictionary*, he equates Welsh *a* with Latin *a*, without further explanation.

Thus down to the end of the 16th century, and even for some years later, there is no sign of the narrow long *a* in Welsh. But when we get to the middle of the 17th century, we at last begin to come upon its traces. I have now to invite your attention to the statements made about the pronunciation of the Welsh *a* by two of the most famous English phoneticians of the seventeenth century, viz., John Wallis, author of the *Grammatica Lingvae Anglicanae* (1st ed., 1653), and C. Cooper, author of a work with the same title, published in 1685.

Treating of the palatal vowels, Wallis says about *a* :—

"Majori apertura formatur Anglorum *a*, hoc est *a* exile. Quale auditur in vocibus, *bat*, vespertilio; *bate*, discordia; *pal*, palla Episcopalis: *pale*, pallidus; *Sam* (Samuelis contractio); *same*, idem; *lamb*, agnus; *lame*, claudus; *dam*, mater (brutorum); *dame*, domina; *bar*, vectis; *bare*, nudus; *ban*, execror: *bane*, pernicies, etc. . . . . Cambro-Britanni, hoc sono solent suum *a* pronunciare."

Cooper's remarks, so far as they concern us, are to much the same effect :—

"A formatur à medio linguae ad concavum palati paululum elevato. . . . . In his *can*, possum, *pass by*, praetereo, *a* corripitur, in *cast*, jacio, *past*, pro *passed* praeteritus, producitur. Frequentissimus auditur hic sonus apud Anglos, qui semper hoc modo pronunciant *a* latinum, ut in *amabam*. Sic etiam apud Cambro-Britannos. . . ."

In the passages just quoted, Wallis and Cooper agree in describing the English short *a* as a palatal vowel, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the sound they both indicate is (æ). This sound, the ordinary Southern

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short *a* as in *that*, is a very old one in English. It was the normal representative of Germanic short *a* in Old English times, and can be traced in Southern speech as late as the middle of the 14th century. We then lose sight of it for a time, though it doubtless continued to be used in the spoken English of the South. The standard English dialect, however, preferred the broad *a* still used in the Midlands and the North of England. The latter is the sound recognised by Salesbury, John David Rhys, and other writers of the 16th century. But sometime during that century came in the tendency towards the palatalization of English *a* referred to in the passage already quoted from J. D. Rhys, and under the influence of this tendency short (a) was in the 17th century deposed in favour of (æ) : (ðæt) again became the standard pronunciation, as it had been before the Conquest. A long (ǣ), exactly corresponding in quality, was used in Wallis' time in such words as *bate* (bǣt). By Cooper's time the *a* in *bate* had become an open *e*, (bē̜t) ; but (ǣ) was used in such words as *cast, barge, path*, which are now pronounced by educated Southern English speakers with the broad (ā).[1]

Now Wallis and Cooper both proceed to state that this palatal English *a*, *i.e.* (æ), was also used in Welsh. Apparently, their statements must be taken as referring to both the long and short vowel; to that we will return directly. The important point to observe is that a palatal Welsh *a* which was unknown to Salesbury and J. D. Rhys in the 16th century, and even to Dr. Davies, of Mallwyd,

[1] This long (ǣ) was developed from original short (æ) before certain consonants and consonantal combinations, and hence it never affected those English dialects which did not use the short (æ). Similarly we find such words as *father, cast, cart, path, master*, pronounced at the present time with the long (ɑ̄) in Radnorshire where the short (æ) is regularly used, while the long (ǣ) is unknown to the Montgomeryshire dialect of English, which uses the broad short *a*.

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in the early part of the 17th, and made its appearance by the middle of the latter century. And as the broad English *a* had developed in the same direction at the same time, the inference is almost inevitable that the two phenomena are connected together.

My theory is that the palatal *a* developed in both languages *pari passu* in the mouths of the bilingual speakers of the eastern border, and that its extension to the Welsh hinterland was a gradual later process.

The existence of a large bilingual population on the eastern frontier of Mid and South Wales in the 17th century is scarcely open to doubt. It is equally certain that the interior of the country, with the exception of the market-towns, was almost purely Welsh-speaking. John Penry's testimony, in his *Humble Supplication* (Oxford, 1587), is decisive for his own time on both points. I quote the *locus classicus* in full :—

"Admit we cannot haue Welsh preachers, yet let vs not be without English, where it is vnderstood. There is neuer a market towne in Wales where English is not as rife as Welsh. From Cheapstow to Westchester (the whole compasse of our land) on the Sea-side they all vnderstand English. Where Munmoth & Radnock shiers border vppon the marches, they all speake English. In Penbrok sheer no great store of Welsh. Consider Anglisey, *Mam-gymru*, Caernaruon, and see if all these people must dwel vpon mount Gerizzin and be subiect to the curse, because they understand not the English toung."

The omission of any mention of Brecknock in this passage is curious, unless we suppose that "Radnock" is an error of the Oxford printer for "Radnor and Brecknock." It is more probable, however, that Brecknock was in Penry's time shielded from Anglicising influences by the fringe of Welsh-speaking country in Herefordshire, and that its bilingual period began somewhat later. The two Vaughans, born 1621 at Newton, in the parish of

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Llansaintffraed, Breconshire, spoke nothing but Welsh in their youth. The country about Hay and for some distance up the valley of the Wye, however, became Anglicised early, and was probably in Penry's time as bilingual as Radnorshire. Welsh was evidently loosening its hold at this time upon the borders of Montgomeryshire, for Lord Herbert of Chirbury tells us that in 1592, when he was a lad of ten, it was found necessary to send him to Plas-y-ward in Denbighshire to learn Welsh, "to enable me to treat with those of my friends and tenants who understood no other language". The bilingual period, however, lasted at other points of the border all through the 17th century. Welsh services were not finally discontinued at Beguildy Church until about 1730. Vavasor Powell, who was born at Knucklas, certainly spoke Welsh, for his license to preach, dated September 11th, 1646, sets forth that he was authorised to "exercise his gifts in his own countrey of Wales, he also having the language thereof". There is, however, little need to multiply proofs of the existence of a bilingual belt of country along the border of Mid and South Wales in the 17th century, since the very fact that a broad strip of Montgomeryshire, Radnorshire and Monmouthshire, with probably a bit of Brecknock, became exclusively English-speaking in the 18th century is sufficient to shew that there must have been a preceding period of considerable length during which the same districts were bilingual.

Penry's account of the linguistic condition of the interior of Wales tallies fully with the statement of Salesbury forty years earlier, "odit o blwyf ynkymbry eb Sasnigyddion ynthi," if we remember that Salesbury was thinking of literate persons, and Penry of the unlearned many. There is evidence that educated people throughout Wales were

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in the 17th century very well acquainted with English, though we must not forget that Lord Herbert of Chirbury had "friends", as well as "tenants", who understood only Welsh. As to the mass of the Welsh people away from the borders, there seems to be nothing to shew that English was better understood among them in the 17th century than in John Penry's time.

But whatever the linguistic condition of the interior may have been, there can be no doubt as to the existence of a considerable bilingual population along the border of Mid and South Wales in the seventeenth century; and these are precisely the conditions under which a phonetic change, such as that with which we are now concerned, would arise. It was not only natural, but inevitable, that a sound, originally identical in both languages, should change on the lips of bilingual people in one language when it began to change in the other. Such changes are brought about by imperceptible degrees, and their beginnings are not noticed. It is a matter of common experience that sounds which are similar, though not identical, are with difficulty kept apart by uneducated or half-educated bilingual speakers. It would be still more difficult for an ordinary bilingual speaker to observe a very minute differentiation of two sounds originally identical. Once the new fashion of speech had established itself among the bilinguals of the eastern border, the extent to which it would affect their monoglot countrymen to the west would depend upon many conditions, among which the direction of trade-routes and the influence of market-towns would play an important part. There is, of course, no difficulty in supposing that the palatalization of long *a* spread over the Welsh-speaking back-country of Montgomery and Merioneth during the period succeeding the 17th century. Fashions in

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speech spread rapidly. This very fashion did actually spread over the whole of England within the space of a century.

We have noted above that neither Wallis nor Cooper, in asserting the identity of the Welsh with the English *a*, makes any distinction between the long and the short vowel. It is possible that they may have had only the long vowel in mind; but it is not necessary to assume this. As already stated, certain English-speaking border districts of Mid-Wales which were bilingual in the 17th century do actually use a palatal *a* (æ). The fact that all the Welsh-speaking, and some of the English-speaking, districts which have adopted the long palatal vowel, show practically no trace of a corresponding palatal short vowel, need not greatly trouble us. Long vowels are much more prone to change than short ones; and in the absence of evidence, it is equally easy to believe either that the palatalization of short *a* never affected the monoglot population of Wales, or that it affected them only temporarily. Those who take the latter view will regard the solitary instance of *mam* as a survival of a tendency which was once more general.

It may be asked how it was that Wallis and Cooper give as Welsh without qualification a pronunciation which on the theory just expounded was only used on the bilingual border. The answer is that as neither of them, so far as is known, was personally acquainted with Welsh, it was precisely from bilinguists that they must have obtained their information; and that it did not concern their purpose to enquire whether various pronunciations of the Welsh *a* might not exist.

Another question which may naturally be asked is whether other similar changes in Welsh vowel-sounds can be shown to have taken place on the lips of bilingual speakers under similar circumstances. Three cases sug-

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gest themselves for consideration: viz., short *w*, as in *hwn*, and the diphthongs *ai*, *aw*, as in *craig*, *mawr*. In Salesbury's time the English equivalents of these sounds were *u*, as in *cut*, *ai* as in *rain*, and *aw* as in *awe*, respectively. Since then, while the Welsh sounds have remained the same, the corresponding English sounds have altered considerably, short *u* having been unrounded, and the two diphthongs having been simplified into monophthongs. These cases are, however, not quite parallel to the fronting of long *a*, for while the changes indicated were undoubtedly proceeding in the 17th century in standard English, their operation in respect to provincial dialects was partial and obscure. The unrounding of short E. *u* has not been even yet carried out in the Northern and North Midland dialects: and in Herefordshire the diphthongal pronunciation of *ai*, as in *say*, *rain*, is still heard. It may, however, be well to note such facts as I have been able to ascertain with regard to the treatment of these three sounds in the place-names of the English-speaking portion of the district of the narrow *a*.

Instances of the short *w* are hard to find; but in Knucklas (nəklə̆s),=Cnwcglas, the unrounding has certainly taken place. In Bwlch the rounding has been preserved by the analogy of English *bull*, *full*: *e.g.*, Bwlch bach, near Nantmel (bwlk bēk). The treatment of the diphthong *aw* is interesting. It is equated with the English *aw*, as in *awe*, *fall*, by Salesbury. But in the next century the English diphthong had been simplified by most speakers into a deep *a*-sound,[1] though Wallis implies that the older diphthong was still used by others. By the end of the century the diphthong had

[1] The Northumbrian dialect preserves this sound approximately: fall=(fâl).

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disappeared, and the *a*-sound later on developed into the present (ô). In accordance with these facts, we should expect the Welsh *aw* in place-names in East Radnorshire, which was bilingual in the 17th century, to be pronounced as (ô), and this is exactly what happens. Mawr is consistently so pronounced: *e.g.*, Beili Mawr (môr), Llanbadarn Fawr (vôr). Porthcawl and Brynmawr in South Wales are pronounced with the same vowel; but the late seventeenth-century stage of the history of the sound has been preserved in the American Brynmawr (Brinmār). Manaughty=Mynachty—a place-name which occurs twice in East Radnorshire—is a specially instructive example. Here an *u*-sound was inserted before the gnttural spirant, as was regularly done in English; cp. *taught* (O. E. *tæhte*, M. E. *tahte*, *taughte*). The diphthong *aw* thus formed then followed the normal English development, and the guttural being also lost in the usual way, from (Mynawchti) came (Mĕnôti). The simplification of *ai* into *e* must have been much later,[1] as the diphthongal pronunciation is still used by some of the older Radnorshire people, who say (wai, rain) for *way*, *rain*; but *ai* is generally *e* in Radnor and the adjoining parts of Brecon. as I believe it is also in many parts of Monmouth: thus Bryn*craig* (crēg) in Llandewy, Graig (grēg) in several places in Radnorshire, Parc y *brain* (brēn) in Brecon. Rhayader, again, is locally pronounced (rēadŏr). It will be seen that the above-mentioned facts, meagre though they are as a basis for positive conclusions, involve nothing that would in the least invalidate the main thesis of this paper, but confirm it as far as they go.

[1] But the simplification probably took place much earlier in unaccented than in accented syllables, since such a pronunciation as (Kerginant) for Craig-y-nant in Llanddewi Ystradenni could only have come through an intermediate Cregynánt.

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Let me now anticipate another objection, which at first sight may appear a formidable one. It may be asked why this fronting of *a* into *e*, which was universal in England, affected only a part of Wales, viz., the hinterland of the border between Oswestry and Chepstow, and did not affect the hinterland of the border between Chester and Oswestry. I do not think that this objection constitutes a real difficulty. In the first place, we hear remarkably little of bilingualism on the eastern borders of Denbigh and Flint in the 17th century. If a bilingual belt of country did exist there it was narrow and unimportant, otherwise the inroads of the English language during the succeeding century would have been as extensive in Denbigh and Flint as they undoubtedly were in Montgomery, Radnor, Hereford and Monmouth. All available evidence goes to show that in the 17th century English monoglottism marched closely with Welsh monoglottism all along the fringe of the two northern shires, just as it has continued to do almost down to our own day.

But even if the linguistic conditions prevailing in the 16th and 17th centuries could be shown to have been uniform along the whole Welsh border, a study of certain phenomena exhibited by the Cheshire dialect of English will suggest a very plausible reason why Denbigh and Flint should have been otherwise affected than the more southerly Welsh counties.

Let me remind you that the chief characteristic of the modern English vowel-shift, so far as it concerns the series ā, ē, ē, ī, is that the last of the series, *ī*, became a diphthong, and that then each remaining vowel of the series shifted one or more places to the right, each place as it became vacant being filled up by the vowel standing to the left of it in the above order. Thus, after the *ī* of M. E. *wīn* had become a diphthong, M. E. *seme* (ē) passed

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into (sīm); M. E. *seam* (ē) passed through (sēm) and also became (sīm); and finally M. E. *same* (ā) passed through (sēm) into (sēm). An analogous process has taken place in connexion with the series ō, ō, ū.

Now one of the most remarkable peculiarities of the Cheshire dialect consists in this, that while it has in respect of this vowel-shift proceeded generally along the same lines of development as standard English, its vowel-sounds are in every case one stage in advance of those of the latter. Thus *seme* not only reached the form (sīm), but passed on into the diphthongal (seim); *seam* has also, through several intermediate stages, reached the diphthongal (seiĕm); *same* has passed through the forms (sēm) and (sēm) into (sīm). The guttural series ō, ō, ū, has been analogously affected.

Owing to the fact that the phonology of English dialects has only in very recent times become the subject of precise investigation, it is of course impossible to say with certainty that the relative positions of the Cheshire dialect and of standard English speech were the same in the 16th century as they are to-day, or as they were a hundred years ago, by which time the vowel-system of Cheshire had reached its present condition. But the probabilities are that they were; and if so, that means that the change of ā into ē was well advanced in the Cheshire dialect before the end of the 16th century. In other words, the ā-sound had ceased to exist on the English side of the Flint and Denbigh border before any considerable portion of the Welsh-speaking inhabitants of that border became bilingual, and therefore its later modification in the direction of ē could exert no influence on the Welsh speech of the latter.

It is necessary to add that what I have for convenience sake here called the Cheshire dialect really includes, for

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all the purposes of the argument, most of the English-speaking portions of Denbigh and Flint. The particular phenomenon which concerns us here, viz., the change of M.E. ā into (ī) has not, I believe, been observed further south than Hanmer, but its range may have at one time extended still further to the south and south-west. Dialect boundaries tend to shift owing to a variety of external causes, and the influence of Shropshire habits of speech on this part of Flintshire is at the present time very noticeable.

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THE DIPLOMATICS OF WELSH RECORDS.[1]

By HUBERT HALL, F.S.A.

After your kind reception of the announcement that I have proposed to offer a few desultory remarks on the subject of "The Diplomatics of Welsh Records", I feel more than ever bound to offer an excuse for making a trial of your patience with a subject that is inevitably tedious. The experiment, however, was encouraged in an influential quarter. Your secretary, Mr. Vincent Evans, hearing that I had some views on the subject of Diplomatics, which were entirely confined to English records, suggested that it might be of interest to examine the condition of Welsh records from the same point of view, and I thought that I might make the attempt. I was not sanguine at the time as to whether the attempt would be very successful, and I must confess that I am less satisfied with the result of my researches than I can well describe.

My chief object is, however, merely to answer four questions which arise indirectly out of the title of the lecture. These questions are (1) What is a Record? (2) What are Diplomatics? (3) What are Welsh Records? and (4) What are their Diplomatics?

The first question is a very simple one and the answer is precise; that a record is the enrolment of a judgment or of the result of proceedings in a Court of Law. But the term is used in a much wider sense, for there are many

[1] Delivered before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, W., on Wednesday, the 15th of May, 1901. Chairman, Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of the Public Record Office.

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other documents in the Record Office than these judicial proceedings. The usual explanation of the matter is this, that the term "Record" is employed in two senses, in a limited and technical sense and in a general sense, which would embrace even a State paper. But there is some method in the employment of the several terms applied to records in official custody to be made out with a little trouble and with the help of the science of Diplomatics, as I will try to show you later on.

Now we come to the second question,—What are "Diplomatics"? "Diplomatics," used in this sense, have nothing to do with diplomacy as we usually understand the term. Yet curiously enough, it is in the modern practice of diplomacy that the only direct continuity of "Diplomatics" is observed. A glance at the apparatus of the European Chancelleries is sufficient to show this. Now Diplomatics, in the particular sense to which I have referred, may be defined as follows: It is the science which assists us to describe what the French call the "spirit" of a document, as opposed to the science of Palæography, which indicates its outward appearance. The student of Diplomatics looks beneath the surface, as it were, and tries to make out the sense of the document, that is to say, its formulas, so that he may ascertain in what country it was written, and whether it was written by an official or by a private individual, and at what date it was executed, and many other points which can be determined by scientific rules. It is in fact an "exact" science, that is to say as technical and arbitrary as the best of those that are taught in the schools.

But there is still another object for the employment of this new science, and that is to consider the general environment of the document, and especially to note any historical allusions that may be introduced; to identify

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the personal names and place-names mentioned therein, and to note the repository in which the document was kept, its classification amongst kindred instruments, and a great many other things which are of interest.

The term diploma, as you know, comes from the old tablet, which was employed as a royal missive in the later Roman Empire, just as a writ was employed in later times; but in a general sense the diplomata, which came to us from the Lombard kingdom, mean either charters or writs.

In the usual sense the diploma means a charter which is a formal document; whilst a writ, which came into use later, is a less formal instrument, and became eventually a mere mandate by the King for certain things to be done. But the way in which these diplomata came to be termed records is as follows: In Anglo-Saxon times our diplomata were called Land bocs, written either in Latin or in the vernacular, but always with the boundaries in the vernacular. These were formal charters. The writ appears towards the end of the Anglo-Saxon period. We must remember, however, that in Saxon times there was no official apparatus for drawing up these documents. They were often composed by local scribes, and executed at any religious house the King happened to visit, as well as at a meeting of the Council.

After the Conquest, however, we get a Chancery of a modified character; and after a time, towards the end of the twelfth century, we find other documents preserved in official custody which are those usually called "Records". The process of this evolution of the legal record from the early charter was, possibly, as follows:

In the time of Henry II great judical changes took place, and following these, from the reign of Richard I, we have a more or less complete series of Plea Rolls, and

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other judicial proceedings. There are other documents in the Record Office besides Charters and Plea Rolls, but the point I want to make is this—that all these instruments are derived from the writ. The "original writ" was the cause of the whole proceedings taking place, whether an action of law, or inquest, or any other proceeding. And following this writ we have the record itself, which is in most cases either the account of the pleadings that were enrolled in the Court, or the return made by jurors at inquests; therefore, given the writ, you can identify the return, whether in the shape of a judicial pleading, or of an inquest. You will see now how the science of Diplomatics comes to play a part in the study of records. It seems to me that this theory of Diplomatics may influence three classes of documents, which practically make up the whole bulk of records. In the first place we have to do with pleadings and proceedings in the Courts. In the second place we have inquests of all kinds, which result in a return being made to the mandate contained in the writ, actually following, in most cases, the formula contained in the writ itself. In the third place we have Accounts, but here the relationship to the writ is less clearly indicated except in the case of the Pipe Rolls.

Now let us take the third point. What are Welsh Records? You have all probably read Mr. Black's excellent report, in the published *Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, describing the state of the ancient records which were found by him in Wales. But the state of these records was really indescribable. We find, however, a tendency between the date of Mr. Black's report and the final removal of the Welsh records to the London Record Office, to put matters on better footing. Thus the records were in some cases withdrawn from the old shire halls and other ruinous buildings, and were placed in modern

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repositories. I do not think that the old race of custodians has ever received much credit for this innovation, but it was really a very praiseworthy attempt to save them from destruction. Unfortunately, in some cases, to take them out of a damp castle and put them into a damp cottage was not a very considerable amelioration. Thus records were removed from places like Wrexham Church and were put into places like the little house by the river side at Dolgelly, where there was a window fronting on to the river, through which the water used to pour whenever there was a high flood. No wonder then that the caretaker was unable to inhabit the parlour next the records on account of the stench from the decaying parchment! I mention this to account for the fact that there are so few Welsh records for us to deal with. It is on account of this paucity of material that nearly all our arguments have to be negative. I spoke to a person learned on the subject the other day, and asked him what he thought about it, and he answered: "Welsh records—why, there are none!"

Before dismissing the subject of the destruction of Welsh records, I should like to say that I have not seen much reference to the fact that in Wales there was no real centre for the preservation of records. The reason why they are so well preserved in England is that they were preserved in the Royal Treasury at Westminster, where they kept company with the royal treasure and regalia. They were kept at Westminster and the Tower of London till the very eve of their removal to the Record Office. Even in Ireland the records have been preserved much better than in Wales—for Dublin was the official seat of Government, like London. But there was no such royal repository in Wales, with the exception of Chester, where the records seem to have been kept better

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than anywhere else. At Carnarvon, on the other hand, they seem to have been kept more shamefully than anywhere else—in a sort of hole in the town wall. The only wonder is, as I have said, that there are any Welsh records left at all!

Such records as are left will be found to belong chiefly to the period between the Act of Union of Henry VIII and the reformation of the Welsh Courts in the last century. That is, of course, what we should have expected. There would naturally be a great increase in the work of the Courts after the Act of Henry VIII. On the other hand, working backwards from this Act, of 34 and 35 of Henry VIII, we have a very long period to fill up, going back to the Statute of the twelfth year of Edward I. For that period there are comparatively very few records, and it would certainly appear that these are constructed diplomatically on the same lines as English records. I do not want to make any sweeping assertion on this point, but merely to take into consideration the structure of the records as they now exist.

Another point that arises here is as to the effect of the statutes of Henry VIII and Edward I respectively upon the "diplomatic" composition of these records. I had intended originally to have said a few words about these statutes and about the condition of Wales and the Marches, but I had the good fortune to read recently Dr. Henry Owen's admirable essay in the current number of your Magazine, and as that essay is available to you it would be quite useless for me to attempt to supplement it. I should, however, like to point out, for the present purpose only, that the statute of Edward I and the statute of Henry VIII, both make new work for the clerks who compiled the records, although the results are not very observable at first sight. Looking at these statutes

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you will find there were changes made, and that the formula of the records was affected thereby, though chiefly in purely local and national particulars which are more important for the study of political history than for the study of diplomatics. In fact, the laws and customs of Wales were preserved in each of those statutes. That really does not amount to very much, as you know, chiefly to the enjoyment of the privilege of paying fines in kind rather than in money, and a certain procedure connected with civil pleas and the inheritance of land. On the whole I should say that the records of this period, from 12 Edward I onwards, are practically constructed on the same diplomatic lines as the records of English Law Courts.

Before the statute of Edward I we have a period going back, say, to the Conquest. It would be of very great interest to ascertain if there were any Welsh records during this period. In any case we should not expect that there would be any considerable bulk of native records preserved during this period, either in the vernacular or in Latin composed according to a distinctive system, as compared with the pleadings in the Courts of Westminster. On the whole, we must suppose that the records of the twelth and thirteenth centuries at least were modelled on the formulas used in the English Courts. That is the probability I think, and I fancy that Dr. Henry Owen leans to that view. He points out that the Lords of the Marches used to regard themselves as feudal personages emulous of the civilization of their English peers. It seems to me probable that the formal pleadings in their Courts would have been precisely similar to those of the great English Honour Courts, whilst the Courts of the Welsh Princes were modelled upon the Curia of the English King.

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We should still like to find something distinctive about Welsh records—something purely national. I do not see myself why there should not have been such national records. There is the analogy of the Welsh laws. Now we cannot say that these laws are merely borrowed from the old English laws, or that they are copied from the Continental capitularies. They have a distinct individuality, and not only that, but the Welsh diplomata, of which we have many early examples, must not be supposed to be drawn in exactly the same forms as the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman charters. Going back to my original argument, we find inevitably that records, whether the pleadings of Courts or returns of inquests, or even accounts, must be derived from the diplomatic writ. We might have supposed that a distinctive Welsh record would have been evolved in this way, but unfortunately we have no trace of such a practice, nor have we any credible account of the composition of their records. You will find several allusions to records and to the people who wrote them in their Courts—to the King's priests and other professional scribes who were employed for this purpose; but even in England, where we may suppose that the same sort of penmanship was used, it is most difficult to get any account of the actual fact. Indeed these Welsh notices are perhaps more circumstantial than those which occur in English documents. At the same time we must remember that in the case of the Welsh laws we cannot, as you know, rely upon a very early date. One text, it is true, goes back to the twelfth century, but, unfortunately, when we meet with anything about priests writing records, etc., we invariably find that the MS. is of doubtful antiquity. Here, again, the science of Diplomatics comes to our aid, confirmed by expert Palæography such as that employed in the recent edition of the *Liber Landavensis*.

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But turning to the subject of the study of the Welsh records for their own sake, and not with regard to the question of whether they are modelled upon English records, or what proportion of their former bulk they may happen to represent, but taking them as we find them—a fairly complete series from the reign of Henry VIII, with many interesting fragments of an earlier period from Edward I to the Act of Union—I would venture to ask whether they are not really worthy of a careful study at the hands of trained students? Here, then, we have the application of that broader definition of the science of Diplomatics to which I called attention at the beginning of my lecture, that is to say, the study of the archæology of the subject. It is astonishing how little is known of the early custody of Welsh records. If we knew more about this matter perhaps we should be able to account for the destruction of the records. In the case of English records we know a great deal about this, practically more about the custody of records in the twelfth century than in the fifteenth. Something might possibly be learnt respecting the early state of Welsh records, and in any case, the classification of the existing series requires immediate attention. It is a purely scientific classification that is required, for there is a very good working arrangement at the present time. A learned and diligent student of these records once remarked to me that Welsh records appeared to him to be relatively richer than English in respect of subsidiary documents which represent the intermediate stages of the pleadings. Welsh records are certainly wonderfully rich in this respect during the later period, but the relation of these subsidiary records to the great rolls is not clear, and requires to be brought out.

As to palæography, I do not know that much needs to be done. Welsh students are strong in palæography. They

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have chiefly applied it to literary MSS., but if they chose to apply their science to records they would find much interesting matter for study. I think that many of the Welsh records are very well worth reproducing by photography, and such a collection would be of inestimable value to historical students in the Welsh Universities.

As for the more practical work of the transcription or calendaring of these records, it is enough to say that the scholarship which is required for the identification of persons and places, together with the study of the auxiliary science of philology, would repay the devotion of a lifetime. I am sure our chairman, who has worked so much on Welsh records, fully realises this. This is really where the modern science of Diplomatics comes in. This is why they train young men in Paris at the *École des Chartes*. We have nothing of that kind here, and it has been well said that "the English school of history is the school of self-help."

I am afraid we shall continue to be amateurs in these matters to the end, so that those who are interested in Welsh records, and who have the time to spare, may find herein a great deal of work to do without troubling themselves at all about such purely academic questions as those which I have ventured to discuss before you to-night. Whether there are any purely Welsh records surviving, and whether they are composed according to an individual and distinctive national style; or even whether, arguing from the analogy of earlier charters and other diplomatic documents, it is possible that such records may once have existed, though all traces of them are now lost, must appear somewhat remote speculations compared with the urgent need for a wider appreciation and practical use of those national manuscripts which have happily been preserved to us.

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APPENDIX I.

REPOSITORIES OF WELSH RECORDS.[1]

1. *Chester Circuit.*	Chester Castle.
	* Montgomery.
	Welshpool.
	* Denbigh.
	Wrexham.
	* Ruthin.
2. *North Wales Circuit.*	Caernarvon.
	Dolgelly.
3. *Brecknock Circuit.*	Brecknock.
	Presteign.
	Cardiff.
4. *Caermarthen Circuit.*	Caermarthen.
	Cardigan.
	Haverfordwest.

APPENDIX II.

A CLASSIFICATION OF WELSH RECORDS ACCORDING TO THEIR REPOSITORIES.

1. *Welsh Records in Official Custody:*—
   - (*a*) Central Repository—(Public Record Office, London).
   - (*b*) Official Repositories (not yet amalgamated with the Public Record Office).[2] (Land Revenue Office). (Ecclesiastical Commissioners). (Secretaries of State, etc., etc.)

[1] These Repositories have been practically disused since the removal of the Records to London. Those marked * were practically abandoned before the date of that removal. It may be noted that the Records were not altogether preserved in these Castles, or Shirehalls, or Churches (as the case might be), but were probably preserved in part in neighbouring houses, such as the private dwellings of the officials of the Courts.

[2] These have only been included in the present schedule as possible sources of information.. See also Appx. II, 3*a*. The tendency is for such collections to be absorbed in the Public Record Office.

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(*c*) Local Repositories.[1]

2. *Welsh Records in Private Custody*:—
   (*a*) Central Collections—(British Museum, London, etc., etc.)
   (*b*) Local Collections—(i) Lay or Ecclesiastical Corporations. (ii) Individuals.
3. *Welsh Records in Foreign Collections*:—
   (*a*) London—(Repositories and Collections).[2]
   (*b*) Paris—(Archives).
   (*c*) Rome—(Vatican Archives).[3]

APPENDIX III.

THE WELSH RECORDS CLASSIFIED DIPLOMATICALLY.

1. A. Charters, Patents, Privy Seals, Warrants, Conventions, Statutes, State Papers.
   B. Deeds, Leases, Wills, Correspondence, and other Private Documents deposited in Public Archives, or preserved in Private Collections.
2. Writs (original and judicial).
3. Fines.[4]
4. Inquisitions, including—
   Inquisitions *Post Mortem*.
   Coroners' Rolls.
   Surveys and Extents.
   Inclosure Awards.
   Feudal Services, etc.

[1] Namely Chester, etc., etc., as in Appendix I. These disused repositories have been included in view of the possible discovery of some of the missing records in their vicinity.

[2] To include any originals removed from Wales before the reformation of the Welsh Courts, when England was, officially, a foreign country. Also documents relating to Welsh affairs in the ordinary series of English records during the same period. *See also* Appx. III, 1*b*.

[3] *e.g.*, Diplomatic correspondence. Records were also removed from Wales (as from Scotland and Ireland) during the English occupation. The French and Roman Archives have been given as types.

[4] In point of form Fines resemble diplomatic instruments such as charters and writs. In point of effect, however, they belong to the class of Judicial Proceedings.

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5. Judicial Proceedings:—
   - A. Plea Rolls (General Series).
     Judgments.
     Fines and Amercements.
     Eyre Rolls.
     Quo Warranto Rolls.
     Forest Rolls.
     Bills and Answers, and Depositions.
     Decrees and Orders, etc.
   - B. Court Rolls (General Series).
     Portmote Rolls.
     Pentice Rolls.
     Ruthin Rolls.
     Sheriffs' Tourn Rolls.
     Coroners' Rolls, etc.
   - C. Subsidiary Records, including—
     Gaol Files.
     Presentments.
     Indictment Rolls.
     Essoin Rolls.
     Mainprize Rolls.
     Affidavits.
     Recognizance Rolls.
     Oath Rolls.
     Certificates.
     Court Books (various).
     Court Papers (various).
     Cursitors' Files.
     Docket Rolls.
     Admission Rolls.
     Warrants of Attorney Rolls.
     Exchequer and Chancery Proceedings, etc.

6. Accounts.
   Ministers' Accounts (General Series).
   Assessments.
   Bills of Costs, etc., and
   Private accounts deposited.

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ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM.[1]

By J. W. WILLIS BUND.

Some apology is due to the Society for occupying its attention with one who, whatever his other virtues may have been, had no claim to be called a Welshman, and still more because there was a Welshman, Anian, Bishop of St. Asaph, who took a prominent part in the transactions of the time, whose life has as yet never been properly written, and who has never received the notice he deserves. If I was about to detail the history of the war with the English in 1282, Anian is the central figure, the hero of the story, but the points I want to bring to your notice are matters in which Anian was not directly concerned, while his Metropolitan was. Peckham is the person round whom these questions centre. I have a further apology to make, I have nothing to tell you that probably you do not already know.[2] Indeed I am hoping that some of you will tell me the answers to the questions I am about to put as to the part Peckham played in the conquest of Wales.

The first is, "What was the reason for the complete change of policy Peckham adopted during his negotiations

[1] Read before the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, 5th June, 1901; Chairman, Rev. G. Hartwell Jones, M.A.

[2] The extracts from Bishop Giffard's *Register* are I believe now published for the first time. A summary of the *Register* is being printed by the Worcestershire Historical Society.

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with Llewellyn, and what brought about that change? This, in other words, means, What was the policy of the Papal Court towards Llewellyn? Up to a certain point the matter seems fairly clear; suddenly there was a complete change. What caused it? There is the smaller question as to the relics which Llewellyn had at his death; what made the English Government so eager to become possessed of them? In spite of St. Louis having about that date collected all the pieces of the true cross he could lay his hands on, and thus increased the value of the remaining portions, a piece of the true cross, even with this appreciation, was not then so rare as to be worth the trouble this bit gave, or the honour that was given to it.

To appreciate the points it is necessary to go into the story of matters between Llewellyn and the Papal Court.

There had always been in the Papal Court a leaning towards the Welsh, not from any love of Wales, but because Wales enabled the Pope to have an instrument ready to hand to be used against the English king when required; for some time the hold the English bishops had in Wales was not sufficient to enable them to push forward their full claims to ecclesiastical jurisdiction as they did in England. At the beginning of the thirteenth century there was the contest between Giraldus and Canterbury. Rome would not have objected to Giraldus succeeding if she could only have been sure that his success meant the full recognition and enforcement of Roman authority. Innocent III did not see his way to get all he wanted in return for his support of Giraldus, and so he temporized. Whether Giraldus saw this and made his peace with the king, is uncertain, but it is certain that the Papal Court desired to avoid taking sides in that controversy.

Gradually, however, the course of events under Henry III tended to merge the ecclesiastical into the national

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question, and the Papal Court saw more was to be gained by supporting the English King than the Welsh Princes, although constant intrigues were going on between Wales and Rome, such as that in 1244, when David, the Prince of North Wales, bargained with Innocent IV to hold Wales as a fief from the Pope. Attempts of the King's Court to get jurisdiction in religious matters in Wales, such as the right to advowsons, and presentations to benefices, rather turned the scale in favour of the Welsh, the policy of the Pope being to keep everything possible out of the King's Courts, or rather the Secular Courts; for it would seem that the Pope liked the Welsh way of deciding these questions, and questions of bastardy, quite as little as he did that of the King, but as the one advanced, and the other restricted, the power of the Church, the support of the Pope was given to the advancing side. In 1261 a kind of agreement was arrived at between the Bishop of Bangor and Llewellyn, as to the civil rights over laymen in the Bishop's allegiance. During the Baron's war the Welsh gave their great support to de Montfort, against the King; and when peace was restored after Evesham, it became obvious to the English King that something must be done to consolidate and extend his rights in Wales.

In this peace the Legate Ottobon was most anxious that Llewellyn should be included. There was some difficulty in getting this done, for the victors were not inclined to give favourable terms to the vanquished; but at last the Legate was empowered to make terms with Llewellyn. These terms were embodied in the treaty of Shrewsbury in 1261, and were the most advantageous the Welsh had yet received. Besides the terms mentioned in the treaty, it is fairly clear that there was some understanding between the Legate and Llewellyn, although it is not easy to say exactly what it was. There were continual

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discussions arising on various points of the treaty; and in 1272 the Bishop of Worcester, Giffard, who had been very active in putting down the rebels in his diocese, was employed to negotiate with Llewellyn, which he did with success. But in spite of these negotiations the state of the Welsh Marches from 1270 until Edward's return to England in 1275, was merely veiled rebellion. Llewellyn took advantage of Edward's absence to try and form a strong combination against him. So far as the Papal influence was used, it was on the side of Llewellyn. The Pope, Gregory X, certainly did not discourage him. How far the Pope was aware of the schemes of Llewellyn is not clear. Llewellyn's idea was to unite with the de Montforts, the sons of the Earl who was killed at Evesham, and by their aid raise up a formidable league among the Barons against Edward, the alliance with the Montforts being strengthened by the marriage of Llewellyn with their sister, Eleanor de Montfort. One of the de Montforts, Almaric, had in 1266 been made a Canon and Treasurer of York Cathedral; after Evesham he was despoiled of these offices; the Archbishop of York, who deprived him, was Walter Giffard, the brother of Godfrey, the Bishop of Worcester. This, and his position of Bishop of Worcester, in some way accounts for the part Giffard played in the matter. Almaric de Montford went abroad, but was in correspondence with Llewellyn in 1272. He called himself the Earl of Leicester, obviously intending as such to head the Baronial party. In 1273 he was very anxious to come to England to enforce his rights to recover his places at York; but Edward refused to allow him.[1] However, he was not to be deterred from his purpose; he sued Edward de Mortimer, his successor at York, to recover his places.

[1] *Chronicle of London*, Rolls Ed., 159.

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The negotiations between Llewellyn and the Pope ended in August 1275, with a Bull which provided that Llewellyn should not be cited out of Wales.

Edward returned to England at the beginning of August, in time to stop further developments. He was crowned in August 1275. Llewellyn refused to attend the coronation, or to do homage. Llewellyn's negotiations had proceeded so far, that in December 1275, Eleanor de Montfort, who had been residing at a convent at Montargis, left France with her brother Almaric, and sailed for Wales. Off the coast of Cornwall the ship in which they were was taken by four English vessels, and they, with two Welsh Dominican Friars who were on board, were taken as prisoners to Bristol. Almaric was sent to Corfe Castle, where he was detained for some time as a prisoner, and afterwards removed to Sherborne. Eleanor was sent to Windsor, and attached to the Court of her aunt the Queen. So far, therefore, Llewellyn's scheme had failed. A greater misfortune befell him; he appealed to the Pope as to the way Edward was treating him. Indignant at that treatment, he refused all offers of peace. Whatever might have resulted from Papal interference was prevented by the death of Gregory X. The next Pope, Innocent V, only wore the tiara for six months, and did nothing. His successor, Adrian V, might have helped Llewellyn, for he was that Ottobon who, as Legate, had negotiated the peace of Shrewsbury, to the advantage of Llewellyn; but unfortunately for the Welsh, Adrian was only Pope forty days, dying before his consecration. Edward appreciated his chance—he saw that the time had come to strike; de Montford was in prison, the Pope dead. To let Llewellyn know that he had nothing to hope for from the Church, the King persuaded the Archbishop of Canterbury, Kilwardby, to send a special mission to

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Llewellyn, offering to mediate between him and the King. On the mediation being refused, Edward determined to put an end to the state of things on the Welsh border. He sent letters to all those who held by military service to have their men ready at Worcester on Mid-summer day 1277, to advance against the Welsh, as Llewellyn had refused to obey the Archbishop, and accept his mediation. The usual result followed; Llewellyn was declared to be contumacious, and in February 1277, Kilwardby ordered his Suffragans to excommunicate Llewellyn.[1] Appeals to Rome were hopeless. John XXI, the new Pope, only lived eight months, and John Cajetan, who then managed the election of Pontiffs, considered it far more important to secure his own election than to help Llewellyn. Edward utilised his opportunity; he struck, and struck hard. The result was the Peace of Conway in November 1277, which practically deprived Wales of her independence, and reduced Llewellyn to the position of an English vassal.

John Cajetan was successful in his intrigue for the Papacy, becoming Pope Nicholas IV in 1277, while Edward was carrying out his Welsh policy. He did not approve of Archbishop Kilwardby's action, whether as to Llewellyn, or as to other matters, is not clear, but he was of opinion that the interests of Rome in England required other hands to look after them. At his first Conclave, in 1278, Kilwardby was made a Cardinal and translated to the Bishoprick of Porto, promotion which required that he should resign Canterbury. This he did, and left England in July 1278 for Rome.

Meanwhile Llewellyn was in high favour with Edward. In August 1278 he met the King at Worcester, and the peace of Conway was confirmed. On October 13 the King

[1] *Rymer*, i, pp. 535, 541.

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and Llewellyn again came to Worcester, and Llewellyn was married to Eleanor de Montfort in the Cathedral, the King paying the cost of the wedding. The Papal Court was not satisfied with the state of things. Almaric de Montfort was still a prisoner of Edward's, and the Welsh were slipping away from Papal control. It can hardly be wondered that the Pope declined to listen to Edward's proposal that his Chancellor Burnell, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, should become Archbishop. It was to check, not to increase, Edward's influence that the Pope was desirous of a change; so he naturally selected his own instrument for the purpose. Paying no attention to the prayers or bribes of the English agents, on Feb. 19, 1279, Nicholas III, in his own chapel at Rome, consecrated his own nominee, the Lector of the Minorites, John Peckham, as Archbishop of Canterbury, and sent him off to England to enforce the Papal policy.

A word should be said as to the new Archbishop. For some time he had been studying at Paris, then at Oxford, and finally he became a Minorite friar, returned to Paris, and lectured on theology. He was appointed Provincial of the Franciscans in England by the General of the Order, Bonaventura. He then went to Rome on the invitation of Nicholas III, a Franciscan, and became lecturer there on theology. He appears to have been unwilling to leave Rome or to become Archbishop, but the appointment was pressed on him by the Pope, and he could not refuse it. It would be impossible that a person less mixed up with local politics and intrigues could have been selected for the place. Peckham arrived in England in June; on his way, at Amiens, he met Edward and the French King.

Although it must be a matter of inference as to what the precise orders given to Peckham were, it is fairly clear

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from his acts that two things were required of him. For some reason the Pope was very anxious to get Almaric de Montfort out of Edward's power; possibly it was deemed of importance to have one who bore the historic name of Earl of Leicester, who might be used if necessity required. It is usually said the reason was because Almaric was a Papal Chaplain, but it is pretty certain that if that had been the only reason the Pope would never have taken the trouble he did to secure Almaric de Montfort's release. The other point was the enforcement of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and its freedom from the jurisdiction of the King's Courts. Peckham's episcopate was one long struggle with his Suffragans to extend the power of Canterbury, that is, the power of Rome over England.

Peckham arrived in England on the 4th June 1289.[1] One of his earliest acts was to hold a Synod of his Suffragans at Reading,[2] at which various statutes were made as to Institution and the Council of Lyons. He then tried, but not with success, to enforce his jurisdiction over the Royal chapels. These claimed to be free from visitation, and both at Wolverhampton and St. Oswald's, Gloucester,[3] Peckham had to give way. This, however, shows the lines on which Peckham was proceeding.

The first of Peckham's dealings with Wales was a correspondence with the Bishop of St. David's, Richard de Carew, as to the punishment of the Rector of Penkeltra. He soon, however, had to consider more important matters. Some time before the 20th October 1279, probably in the summer of that year, Llewellyn had written to Peckham,

[1] *See* Giffard's *Register*, fol. 88; a congratulatory letter from Giffard, dated the 13 June 1279.

[2] 4 Kal. Aug. 1279; Giffard's *Register*, 89.

[3] Giffard's *Register*, fol. 105.

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so far as it appears, a general letter of congratulation. Subsequently, complaint reached Peckham as to the action of Llewellyn in seizing the goods of intestates, and the goods of the clergy, contrary to the Canon law, but in accordance with the law of Howel Da, laws which, Peckham adds, and possibly with truth, are in several respects opposed to the Decalogue. Llewellyn also claimed the rents of Bishop's lands during their absence from Wales. Peckham urged Llewellyn not, in any of his dealings, to do anything against the liberties of the Church. This gives the key of the position. The contest was to be the same in Wales as it had been and was in England. Was the law of the Church or the law of the land to prevail? Probably to Peckham it mattered little if the English law or the Welsh law prevailed, but what he was really anxious about was that the Canon law should be the one law to be obeyed in both countries. Whether Llewellyn saw this or not does not appear, but on 28th July 1280, Peckham wrote to Llewellyn rejoicing that he had arranged matters with the Bishop of Bangor. A correspondence seems to have passed between Peckham and Llewellyn about the observance of the peace; Llewellyn here, as in the other case, urging that matters were to be dealt with by the Welsh laws, and not according to the English. The words of the peace, as quoted by Peckham, made the question more difficult. The law outside the four cantrefs named in the treaty was to be the law in force in the place where the dispute arose. This, Llewellyn urged, clearly meant Welsh law, while Edward said English. Peckham urged that the laws of Howel Da contained many unreasonable matters; that the King's will had the force of law; that as the King swore at his coronation to do away with all bad laws, and as the Welsh laws were admittedly bad laws,

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to observe them, or to allow them to be observed, would be opposed to his coronation oath. This letter indicates Peckham's line of action, he preferred the English to the Welsh laws, but he intended the Canon law, that of the Church, to be supreme over both. This the letter in 1281 clearly brings out. The King's Justices were invading the right of the Bishop of St. Asaph by hearing cases according to the course of English laws that should only be tried in the Bishop's Court. Peckham begged the King to order them to desist. On the same day, 24 Nov. 1281, Peckham wrote to Roger Mortimer begging him to compel his daughter to cease from suing the Bishop of St. Asaph in the King's Courts, stating that it was his, Peckham's duty, in order to preserve intact the liberties of the Church, to stand as a wall. Peckham also wrote to Isabella herself, urging her to cease her suits against Anian, which properly belonged to the Church.

Pope Nicholas III died in 1280. His successor, Pope Martin IV, pressed on the same policy, being very desirous of obtaining Almaric de Montfort's release. In 1281 he sent a Nuncio, Raymond Aggeriis, Dean of Le Puy and one of his Chaplains, to England on this business. Raymond arrived about Christmas, and came to Worcester to see Bishop Giffard on the subject;[1] possibly as Giffard was the executor of his brother, the Archbishop of York, who had died in 1279, heavily in debt, and who had deprived Almaric of his posts in York Cathedral, Giffard's influence might well be used on the side of keeping Almaric locked up to prevent him seeing the Archbishop's executor. An assembly of the Bishops was called to meet at the New Temple, London, on the 5th Feb. 1282, to treat as to the release. Giffard wrote declining to attend.[2]

[1] Giffard's *Register*, p. 124. [2] Giffard's *Register*, p. 124.

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The result of the London conference was that Peckham wrote to Edward urging him to consent to de Montfort's release. The Bishop of London also saw the King and talked over the matter with him; Edward yielded so far as to promise that the matter should be considered by Parliament when they met on the 2nd April. Another step was gained when the King allowed Burnell, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Chancellor, to bring de Montfort to London. On de Montfort abjuring the realm he was released and handed over to the care of the Nuncio Raymond, who took him to France. On the 23 April 1282, Peckham wrote to the King that the Nuncio was taking de Montfort to Rome. Subsequently de Montfort renounced the priesthood, became a soldier, and died. Thus the first part of the Papal programme entrusted to Peckham was carried out—de Montfort was released—but the more difficult part, how to get the best possible terms out of Llewellyn and the Welsh, remained for Peckham to do.

At first Peckham devoted himself to carrying out the policy of extending the jurisdiction. The first of his Suffragans to show any real resistance was the Bishop of Hereford, Thomas de Cantilupe, afterward St. Thomas of Hereford. His complaint was that the Archbishop compelled various persons, subjects of the See of Hereford, to answer in the Archbishop's Court instead of in the Bishop's.[1] The Canterbury Suffragans said that the Archbishop had no original jurisdiction outside the limits of the Canterbury Diocese, except over persons who were subjects of more than one Diocese; that the Metropolitan jurisdiction was only appellate. The Archbishop contended he had both original and appellate jurisdiction, and cited indiscriminately subjects of different Dioceses to answer in the

[1] Giffard's *Register*, p. 137.

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Archbishop's Court. The real point was the question of fees; did they go to the Bishop's or Archbishop's officials. The Bishop of Hereford ordered his official not to execute Peckham's orders, and appealed to Rome. Peckham replied by passing a sentence of the greater excommunication on the official, Robert of Gloucester, for contempt in not executing his orders. The official thereupon appealed to Rome.[1] So serious did the Canterbury Suffragans consider the action of the Archbishop, that a Synod was held at Lambeth in April 1282, defining the cases when the subjects of Suffragan Bishops might be cited by the Archbishop, and also his rights as to sequestrations, wills, executors and absolutions.[2]

The next Suffragan to fight, was the Bishop of Worcester. He wrote to the Bishop of Hereford on the subject, and lodged an appeal to Rome against the Archbishop's attempt to exercise jurisdiction in the Worcester Diocese. Giffard alleged "that no other Bishop of the Province of Canterbury dared to state these things, and that Peckham disregarded the orders of the Apostolic See."[3]

In his notice of appeal to Rome, Giffard states very clearly the case of the Canterbury Suffragans:—

"Whereas Godfrey, minister of the church of Worcester, is and was in possession of the liberty, right, and jurisdiction of taking cognizance in all causes of his subjects, except only in cases of negligence and appeal, and he and his predecessors have enjoyed the same from a time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, now the Archbishop of Canterbury opposing the Bishop in a certain matter of divorce between John de Shay and Alice his wife, of Warwick, subjects of the Bishop, and which by appeal or other lawful manner had not come to the Archbishop's cognizance, commissioned the Prior of Berencestr', in the diocese of Lincoln, to determine the same, and issued many other mandates to the Bishop and his officers in the diocese of Worcester, prejudicial to the jurisdiction of the

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[1] Giffard's *Register*, 140. [2] *Ibid.*, 133. [3] *Ibid.*, 137.

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same church. And further, the said Archbishop sent his mandate to the Bishop, dated at Winchester, the Ides of February 1281, commanding him to pronounce sentence of the greater excommunication upon the Bishop of Hereford, who, in contempt of his oath made upon the horn of the altar of St. Thomas *(in cornu altaris beati Thomæ)*, impugned the authority of the church of Canterbury. The Bishop of Worcester, however, considering the case of the Bishop of Hereford similar to his own, appealed to the Roman Court as to the right of the Archbishop to compel those subject to his Suffragan Bishops to appear at his citation, and otherwise to interfere with the liberties of the said Suffragans. Done in the chapel of the manor of the Bishop of Worcester, in the suburbs of London."[1]

Peckham naturally resented Giffard's action. If he was to maintain order over his Suffragans, conduct such as this must be put down. He wrote to Giffard ordering him to excommunicate the Bishop of Hereford, who, in contempt of his oath, had questioned the rights of his Metropolitan. This Giffard refused to do, and, in declining, wrote a somewhat angry letter to Peckham.[2] He also appealed to Rome from the order of Peckham in the divorce suit.[3] Peckham replied, telling Giffard he was violating his oath of obedience to the Church of Canterbury, that he, Peckham, was not to be frightened by Giffard's conduct, but that, "invoking the aid of Christ and relying on the merits of those Saints who were patrons of the Church of Canterbury, he did not fear the wiles of the Bishop, who in the course he was pursuing was imperilling his soul."[4]

These disputes shew the line that was actually being taken by Peckham with his English Suffragans. Doubtless he intended to have done the same with his Welsh Suffragans, but his hand was forced by the course of events in Wales.

On the 21 March 1282, the feast of St. Benet the abbot, according to the Welsh account, on the night before

[1] Giffard's *Register*, p. 148. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 149. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 151.
[4] Giffard's *Register*, p. 150; Peckham's *Register*, i, 355.

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Palm Sunday according to the English account, the Welsh stormed some of the English castles, and killed the garrisons. The Welsh say that the castle was Pen Harddlech (Hawarden), that it was stormed by David;[1] the English say the castles were Flint and Rhuddlan, and that they were stormed by Llewellyn and David. It matters little which is the true account, as either was a declaration of war. The King was at Devizes. Summons were issued at once for the King's feudal tenants to assemble with their men at Worcester at Whitsuntide.[2] Peckham wrote from Clyst, near Exeter, to each of his Suffragans on the 1st April, ordering them to excommunicate in their respective dioceses on Sundays and festivals, "*pulsatis campanis et extinctis candelis*," all the Welsh who were disturbers of the King's peace.[3] Only the Bishop of Hereford of the Canterbury Suffragans was omitted, as he was away at Rome. In that case it was sent to the Dean. The excommunication seems to have been fairly general. One Bishop, Anian, of St. Asaph, refused to pronounce it. Peckham wrote to Edward informing him what he had done, and saying the crisis was so grave he had not waited for the usual way of sending his orders through the Bishop of London, but had sent them direct.[4] However, he also sent in the usual way through the Bishop of London, as there is a letter from him dated from "Folehan, on the nones of May 1282", to the Bishop of London, directing him to write to all the Canterbury Suffragans ordering them to cause sentence of excommunication to be pronounced against Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, and his adherents.[5]

[1] *Brut y Tywysogion*, 373.
[2] Rymer, *Fœdera*, 603.
[3] Peckham's *Register*, i, 324.
[4] Peckham's *Register*, i, 323.
[5] Giffard's *Register*, 150; Peckham's *Register*, 323.

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Edward was in Worcestershire at the end of May. He wrote from one of the Bishop's Palaces, Hartlebury, to the Bishop, on the 24th May, calling upon him to have the force he was bound by service to furnish, ready to set out with the King in his expedition against the Welsh.[1] Giffard's force was considerable; he held as Bishop thirteen knight's fees. On the 24 June there was a large assembly at Worcester; the King ordered all the great men of the realm to meet him with horses and arms on the borders of Wales, on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, August 1st. The Bishop of Worcester, in a letter to the Bishop of Hereford, who had gone to Rome to prosecute his appeal against Peckham, thus describes the muster:—

"The King has lately collected a multitude of those who are bound to render military service and divided them into three armies. The first of which the King has taken to a place commonly called Ruphyn. The second is under the command of E. [Edmund Earl of Lancaster], brother of the King. The third is commanded by O. de Grandisson, except the multitude of those men who dwell in the eastern parts; which armies are strong enough to resist the enemy to whatever part they may be led. The Queen has given birth to a daughter named Elizabeth."[2]

Edward reached Ruthin in July, but his progress was not rapid, his game was a waiting one; moreover, Peckham was trying the effect of negotiation. It is said, but it would seem incorrectly, that he went down to Wales in July to try and make peace.[3] It, however, appears from his *Register*[4] that this could hardly have been so, for from the 1st to 7th July he was at South Malling, on the 14th at Cherring, on the 23rd at Wingham, 24th at Canterbury, 28th and 29th at Wingham, as there are letters

[1] Giffard's *Register*, 151.
[2] *Ibid.*, 156.
[3] Powel's *Welsh Chronicle*, edited by Wynne, ed. 1702, p. 286.
[4] Peckham's *Register*, i, 378.

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on those dates from those places. Haddan and Stubbs say that Peckham was certainly at Wolverhampton on July 27, and may possibly have gone on into Wales[1]; but his *Register* shews, if the letters were really written from the places mentioned in them, that he could not have gone to Wales at that date.

There is a letter from the Bishop of Worcester to John of Pontoise, the new Bishop of Winchester, excusing himself from attending his enthroning on account, among other things, of the presence of the King, and the Bishop's friends and kinsmen in his diocese going to and returning from parts of Wales.[2] The letter is dated at Kempsey, 21 September 1282, which shows that considerable exertions were then being made to maintain the army in Wales.

Before the final scene Peckham made a further attempt at negotiation. He had already, in August, authorised Bishop Burnell to absolve from the sentence of the greater excommunication all those who had kept peace with the King; and the Dominican, William de Faversham, to absolve all who submitted to the King's peace. Peckham set off for Wales in the beginning of October; on the 9th he was at Cirencester, on the 16th at Hereford. He seems to have been fairly confident of making peace, as he fixed the 10th November for the visitation of the Cathedral and Diocese of Hereford, clearly considering that by then it would be all over, that all he had to do was to see Llewellyn and bring about peace. He left Hereford about the 20th, was at Eardisley on the 21st, and from there he wrote to Llewellyn saying that he (Peckham) was responsible for the Welsh, and had come "to deliver his sheep from the jaws of the wolves". He therefore requested a

[1] Vol. i, 534.

[2] Giffard's *Register*, p. 157.

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safe conduct for Brother John the Welshman, a Doctor of Theology.[1] On the same day, Peckham wrote to Anian abusing him for being the only one of his Suffragans who had declined to excommunicate the Welsh, and ordering him to appear to answer for his disobedience.[2] On the 26th October, Peckham was at Chester, and on the 28th at Rhuddlan. From there, on the 31st October, he wrote to Burnell that he was going among the Welsh to make an effort to bring them back to Catholic unity; he knew his danger, and as he was not willing the Church of Canterbury should be without a head, he therefore appointed Burnell as his Vicar, to act for him during his absence.[3] Thinking that some of the friends of Anian might possibly detain him, Peckham also empowered Burnell to act for him in the matter of Anian's disobedience.[4]

On reaching Rhuddlan, Peckham found his task of making peace more difficult than he expected. On the 8th November he wrote to the Dean of Hereford, putting off his visitation of the Hereford Diocese till the 7th December, on the ground of being occupied with various matters for the good of the State.[5]

Edward did not much relish Peckham's interference; he considered the time had come, not "for mending but for ending" the state of things in Wales, and it was with a bad grace he allowed Peckham to carry on his negotiations. This Peckham pointed out very clearly to Llewellyn, telling him he could not stay there long, and if he left there would be an end of all negotiations. Peckham also threatened Llewellyn to write to Rome and point out that it was Llewellyn's obstinacy that prevented peace.[6]

[1] Peckham's *Register*, ii, 421.
[2] *Ibid.*, 422.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii, 426.
[4] *Ibid.*, 426.
[5] *Ibid.*, ii, 430.
[6] *Ibid.*, ii, 436.

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This threat of complaining to Rome shows clearly that there was some understanding with Rome, and that Llewellyn would be influenced by Peckham's complaint.

It was no spiritual matter, for Llewellyn was already excommunicated, and Rome had in spiritual matters done its worst; and, further, it must have been something of importance for the Archbishop to go out of his way to communicate with an excommunicated person. Llewellyn replied expressing his gratitude to Peckham, his wish for peace, and complained that the English would not allow the Welsh to act in accordance with the Welsh laws and customs. He stated that the English burnt churches, killed ecclesiastical persons and priests, destroyed ecclesiastical buildings and their inhabitants—that, to the English, no place nor person was safe from destruction. That the English were faithless and would not observe nor keep treaties.[1] Detailed statements of English perfidy were given, and Peckham was asked to try and bring about peace, for the good of the souls of Edward, Llewellyn, and of many others.

Llewellyn's grievances were supplemented by complaints from David, the son of Griffin, from the men of Ros, from Rhys Vychan, of Ystrad Tywy, from Llewellyn and Howel, sons of Rhys, from Maredud, the son of Oweyn, from the men of Ystradaluy, the men of Penliti, the men of Tegeyal, Goronow, son of Heylyn, Llewellyn, the son of Griffin ap Madoc.[2] Although they differ in detail, there is one common ground of complaint: that the English laws were forced upon them, that if they did not obey them they were turned out of house and home, deprived of their lands, and sent adrift. Justice was denied them; they were treated with cruelty and oppression. So far, most likely,

[1] Peckham's *Register*, 437. [2] *Ibid.*, 458.

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they were right; the Lords Marchers were not sticklers for legal forms, they cared for Welsh Law probably even less than the modern English Judge, who is reported as saying he did not believe there was such a person as Howel Da. The English law was enforced—brutally enforced—when not obeyed, and according to their own showing the Welsh had not obeyed it, and did not consider they were bound to do so. The specific acts alleged may or may not be true, but it is certainly true that the Lords Marchers treated the Welsh as if they were not God's creatures.

Peckham brought these complaints before Edward. The King declined to consider them; the Welsh, he said, had brought all this trouble on themselves for not obeying the English law. That was the whole question. Edward was determined the Welsh should submit to English law; the Welsh desired to live under their own. Peckham asked leave to interview the Welsh. This was granted, and he went. Llewellyn agreed to submit, saving his right to his people and his own status.[1] Edward insisted on unconditional surrender. At last Peckham persuaded the King to assent that if Llewellyn would surrender he should be given, out of some English county, an estate of £1,000 a year, which should go to his heirs male, and that his daughters should be properly provided for. Separate proposals were made to David; he was to try, what was the great remedy for troublesome persons in those times, a journey to the Holy Land, and not return without leave; if he did this provision would be made for his family. It would seem, from the terms being separate, the one set were not dependent on the other. Llewellyn, acting on Peckham's advice, accepted the terms proposed to him, so far as to submitting to the King, but objected to the

[1] Peckham's *Register*, ii, 468.

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other proposals, mainly because the English could not be trusted. The Welsh referred to Ottobon's agreement, denied it had been kept, and said they distrusted the King and the English. David absolutely refused the terms offered to him.

These replies angered Peckham. On the 14th November he wrote back a letter in which abuse of the Welsh, quotations from Scripture, and from Canonists, are freely interspersed; they had nothing to glory about, he tells them, they boast "*in radice adulterina processu idololatriæ et usurpationis spoliis*".[1] He is particularly furious with Howel Da, who, he says, received his instructions for his laws from the Devil. He tells them he is writing more in sorrow than in anger; that he is inclined to include the whole of the Welsh in the sentence of the greater excommunication passed at the Council of Oxford against disturbers of the peace of the realm.

This denunciation was far more to frighten than any thing else; Peckham did not break off the negotiations, but continued them, through his agent, a Dominican Friar, Adam de Nantmel. Llewellyn had practically submitted, and some kind of peace could have been arrived at if Peckham had really been sincere. It would have been easy to understand, if after the letter of 11th November the negotiations had been broken off, and Peckham had left Wales, but the continuance of the negotiations after the letter shews that there was something behind. Peckham was, as has been stated, bent on establishing his power as Archbishop over his Suffragans, and of taking the business from their Courts to his. It seems probable that some agreement was arrived at between the King

[1] Peckham's *Register*, ii, 474. *See* the account of Welsh customs in the document written by one of Peckham's clerks, and printed in the Appendix, *post*, p. 81.

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and Peckham; probably that he was to have a free hand in Wales in ecclesiastical matters if he gave up attempting to help the Welsh. Edward was in no position to dictate terms, and was desirous of getting all the help he could. Between the 11th and the 18th November some understanding was arrived at, for Peckham left Wales between those dates. On the 18th he was at Chester, on the 22nd the King sent, ordering Peckham to attend at Northampton in January with reinforcements, to help in putting down the Welsh once for all, and this was probably the result of the understanding. Still the negotiations with Llewellyn were continued by Peckham, through the Dominican monk. On the 3rd December Peckham was at Leominster, on the 5th at Sugwas, where he stayed a week. From thence he wrote to the Dominican, Adam de Nantmel, whom he had sent into the parts of Snowdon to negotiate with Llewellyn, pointing out that he was to have returned as soon as possible, and that he had neither done this nor sent any news of his movements, asking why it was, and ordering him to return at once. This letter was written on the 11th December. On the same day, at no great distance, further up the Wye, "*in partibus montes Gomerici*", Llewellyn was killed.

It is difficult to say how much Peckham knew of what was going on. Some news of the English victory in South Wales gained by Edmund Mortimer over the Welsh must have reached him, he could hardly have been ignorant that Llewellyn had left Snowden and reached Builth. Why he did not recall his messenger when Llewellyn left Snowdon is also a matter not accounted for, unless it was that, having got the best terms he could out of the King, he was trying to get still better out of Llewellyn before deciding on his final action.

Llewellyn's death determined Peckham's conduct. His

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threat as to excommunicating, under the order of the Oxford Council, as disturbers of the peace of the realm those who did not submit, was at once carried out, he ordered the Dean of Hereford to excommunicate David and all his accomplices. There was no longer any doubt as to which side would win, so no doubt as to how Peckham should act; the King's side was the one out of which he could get the most, so he took it. He went on to Hereford, and from there, on the 28th December, sent to the Bishop of London Edward's letter of the 22nd November for the Clergy to meet at Northampton to settle how to finish off the Welsh; directing the Bishop to cite all the Canterbury Suffragans to attend, including, as he hoped, (Swinfield) the elect of Hereford.

While at Sugwas, or on his way to Hereford, Peckham's messenger, Adam de Nantmel, either returned, or Peckham had some communication with Edmund Mortimer as to Llewellyn's death; for Peckham wrote to the King from Pembridge, that there was found on the most secret part of Llewellyn's body some things he had seen, among them a letter disguised by false names. Peckham sent a copy of the letter to Burnell the Chancellor. Peckham had also received a letter from the Lady Maud Longespeye asking that Llewellyn might be absolved. Peckham replied that unless some of those who were at Llewellyn's death came to him and produced evidence that Llewellyn had repented, he could not do it. He also told the King that Edmund de Mortimer had stated that he heard that Llewellyn when dying asked for a priest, and the day he was killed, a Cistercian sang mass to him. Peckham went on to ask the King to spare any clerks he might take prisoners in Snowdon.

Whether Llewellyn was absolved or not does not appear, but his body was carried off and buried by the

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Cistercians in the Abbey Church of Cwm Hir. His head, crowned with ivy, was sent to London and placed on the Tower.

It is not a little singular that nothing is said by Peckham about the piece of the Cross that was found on Llewellyn's body; all accounts agree that such a relic was found, and was given up to Edward. It could hardly have been included among "the few small things" which Peckham saw. The piece of the Cross does not seem to have reached the hands of Mortimer. Certain Welshmen, Avian, son of Ynor Llewellyn, David, Meyler, and Goronow his sons, Goronow, son of David, Avyan, David Dayhoc, and Tegnaret his sons, brought it to Edward at Aber Conway, and so important did he consider it that he granted to these Welshmen exemption from military service outside the four cantrefs.[1] All the accounts of Llewellyn's death contain some mention of the relic being handed over to Edward. The *Annals of Waverley*[2] say: "A portion of the Cross of our Lord, large and precious, with other relics that among the Welsh were held most valuable, were handed over to Edward King of England." The Winchester annalist says:—"A great piece of our Lord's Cross, which is called in Welsh, Crosseneyeh, with many other celebrated relics, was delivered up to Edward King of England."[3]

Edward brought this relic to London, and took it in state to Westminster, where he was met by the Archbishop with his Suffragans in full canonicals; he was escorted up the Church to the great altar, on which he solemnly placed this piece of the true Cross of our Lord, adorned with gold, gems, and precious stones, which he had brought with him from Wales.[4] The subsequent history of the

[1] *Rymer*, i, 630.
[2] p. 401, Rolls ed.
[3] See *Ann. Wigornie*, p. 489, Rolls ed.
[4] *Ann. Waverley*, p. 402.

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relic I have not been able to trace. It was clearly one on which both Welsh and English set a high value, and as afterwards Edward offered up in the Abbey the stone from Scone, as a symbol of his Scotch triumph, so then he offered up in the Abbey this piece of the Cross from Wales as the symbol of his Welsh triumph.

I have not been able to make out how this relic came to Wales, and was entrusted to the Welsh princes, nor what was its subsequent fate after it was deposited in Westminster Abbey; nor have I been able to collect any details either as to the relics or the other small things that Peckham saw in Mortimer's custody, which were taken from Llewellyn after his death. The letter disclosing the disaffection of the English Barons also disappeared. Whether the Chancellor thought it best to suppress it, or whether those who were named in it saw that Llewellyn's death had converted the cause of the Welsh with another lost cause, and made their peace, it is not now possible to say.

The documents as to Llewellyn and Peckham seem to justify the following conclusions:

(1) That there was some understanding between the Papal Court and Llewellyn.

(2) That Peckham was instructed to carry out that understanding.

(3) That Peckham was determined to enforce throughout his province the right of his, the Archiepiscopal, Court to hear, not merely appeals, but also any other cases that might be brought in Episcopal Courts.

(4) That Peckham was desirous of extending this jurisdiction to the four Welsh Dioceses, and to substitute, as far as possible, the English ecclesiastical jurisdiction for the Welsh Laws.

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(5) That as long as there was a prospect of getting such a concession from Llewellyn, Peckham supported him; but when he found that Llewellyn insisted on the Welsh laws being observed, Peckham's policy shifted, and he negotiated with Edward as to the terms in ecclesiastical matters.

(6) That Edward and Peckham came to an agreement as to the establishment or development of the English ecclesiastical system in Wales.

(7) That Peckham tried if he could get anything better out of Llewellyn, but that the death of Llewellyn terminated the negotiations.

It is tempting to speculate and try to make out more, but the documents do not justify anything more. They do prove that Peckham cared nothing for the Welsh; that he cared much for extending the power of Canterbury; and that Peckham was prepared to support whichever side would give him the best terms. How he used the power he obtained, and made his celebrated visitations of the Welsh dioceses, must be left for another paper.

It may, however, be well to mention one or two matters on the Welsh war which are to be found in the Worcester *Register*. They shew that before we can get a complete account of the times, the Episcopal Registers require to be fully examined, and the details they give utilized. The Worcester *Register* shews the following facts. The Council of Northampton, mentioned in the King's letter, was not wholly satisfactory, it was adjourned to be held in London, in the new Temple, at the octave of the Holy Trinity.[1] The Bishop of London wrote to the Bishop of Worcester, reciting an order from the Archbishop of Canterbury to that effect.

[1] Giffard's *Register*, 172.

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The King had to draw much of his supplies for the war from England. In 1283 there was a writ to the Sheriff of Gloucester ordering him to provide sixty quarters of corn and sixty quarters of oats for the use of the King, wherever they were to be found, whether in the liberty of the Abbey of Westminster, or the liberty of Cleeve (the Bishop's), and to deliver them at Tewkesbury, to be carried to Shrewsbury, as the King had ordered.[1] One advantage of being on the Welsh expedition was that those serving there escaped taxation. In Giffard's *Register* is an entry headed, "Mode of taxing the corn, and on what persons."[2] Among the exemptions are Edmund, brother of the King, the Earl of Gloucester, the Earl of Hereford, the Earl Warren, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl Marshal, John Giffard, John de Sancto Johanne, and other magnates who are in the expedition of the King in Wales, they and their towns are not to be taxed.

For the support of the expedition into Wales the Commons of the Kingdom had granted to the King a thirtieth of all their movable goods. Giffard's *Register* contains the following instructions as to how the levy was to be made:—[3]

"The mode of taxing the thirtieth of all movable goods granted by the commonalty of the kingdom to the King for the expenses of his expedition into Wales, in collecting which the King is willing to except those things which were excepted in the grant of the fifteenth, formerly granted to him. First, that inquiry should be made by jurors concerning the movable goods of every one within the limits assigned to them which were held on the octave of St. Michael, 10 Edward I, upon a lay fee or belonging to a lay fee. That inquisition and assessment should be made in the following form, namely, of the corn, as well in the granges and granaries as on the lands sown, and of corn, wheat, barley, mesline oats, peas, beans, and whatsoever other kind of corn, and also of hay, forage, oxen, bulls, cows, sheep, goats, pigs, and other animals, and of bees, honey, wax,

[1] Giffard's *Register*, 193. [2] *Ibid.*, 194. [3] *Ibid.*, 196.

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cow horns, mares, colts, draught horses, &c. Of merchants (*negociatoribus*) in the towns of Upland (*in villis de Uppeland*), as well chaplains (*cap'llis*) as others, of the value of their goods, and of goods alienated, amoved, or consumed, from the said octave till now, that their true value might be estimated. Also in mercantile cities, boroughs, and towns, the goods of merchants or others might be estimated and assessed and their vessels and utensils of gold, silver, brass, or other metal, and the meat or fish or other thing for human food or fit to be made into money. Of the men of Uppelaunde (*De hominibus vero de Uppelaund*), if they had larders (*lardaria*), meat, or fish, which they kept for sale, they should be estimated and assessed, but not otherwise. Those only were to be excepted who lately gave aid to the King. The said jurors should also make the lord of the house, or in his absence his bailiff, take an oath, if it should be necessary, to state the goods which he had on the said octave, with their value, as well as those alienated, amoved, or consumed as others (night and day garments and private treasure with which they are not accustomed to traffic only excepted). The assessors shall give the names of those unwilling to swear to the ministers appointed by the King. Of those who should acquire lands by inheritance, escheat, ward, or other manner, after the aforesaid octave, there shall be computed the sum of the acres sown, or other the movable goods in their hands. That inquiry be made who were the knights who did no service for the King in Wales in the present war, and of their goods, that it be inquired also if anything has been alienated by fraud by reason of the thirtieth. If anyone alleges that his goods ought not to be taxed he is to be ordered to bring his case before the ministers aforesaid. That no one be assessed unless his goods are worth half a mark at the least. That the jurors shall well and faithfully execute their business, otherwise severe punishment will follow their perjury and falseness."

In July 1283, the Bishop of Worcester wrote to the King congratulating him on his successes over the Welsh, which he said were due to the intercession of the Blessed Mary, Mother of God, St. Oswald, and St. Wulstan, special patrons of the Church of Worcester. Obviously a reminder that gratitude was a lively sense of favours to come.[1]

In 1284 Pope Martin IV issued a Bull giving to the

[1] Giffard's *Register*, 203.

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Bishops of Worcester and Bangor power to absolve those excommunicated and sacrilegious persons who during the wars between Henry III and Simon de Montfort, and between Llewellyn Prince of Wales and David his brother and King Edward had committed homicide of religious persons and secular clerks.[1] The King writes from Aber on the 26 August 1284. under his Privy Seal, to the Bishop of Worcester, ordering him to execute this Bull after taking counsel with Walter de Bathonia, but nothing is said about the Bishop of Bangor. He also wrote to the Bishop of Chichester, ordering him to publish the Pope's Bull in his diocese.[2]

The costs of the Welsh war went on for some time. In 1285 a writ was sent to the Sheriff of Worcester to levy 40*s.* on the Bishop of Worcester for scutage for the King's army in Wales, and similar writs were sent to the Sheriffs of Warwick, Gloucester, Wiltshire, Southampton, Somerset and Hereford.[3] This does not seem to have been successful, for later in the same year other writs were sent to the same Sheriffs to obtain payment of the scutage due from the Bishop for the King's army in Wales.[4]

One other consequence of the Welsh war may be noticed. From the Worcester *Register* it appears that both the Archbishop and the Bishop of Worcester alleged that the expenses they had been put to in regard to it had crippled them, and the Bishop of Worcester required compensation. It must be remembered that both were Minorite Friars, and so in accordance with the fundamental rule of their order could possess no property, not even a Breviary. On his return from Wales Peckham was asked for a subscription by Cardinal Gaetano to help the son of J. de

[1] Giffard's *Register*, 248.
[2] *Ibid.*, 248.
[3] *Ibid.*, 265.
[4] *Ibid.*, 267.

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Columma; he replied that he could not give it, as among his other misfortunes, not the least was the fact of the enormous expenses he had incurred in going on a fruitless journey to Wales, to bring about peace, which prevented him doing what he should have liked.[1] Giffard alleged that the loans he had incurred by the Welsh rebellion had quite crippled him, prevented him exercising hospitality, so asked the Pope to allow him to appropriate the fruits of one of the livings in the Diocese, Bishop's Cleeve, for the expenses of his table.[2] He was supported in this by the King, who not only wrote himself to Pope Martin IV, asking that in consideration of the sterility of the land with which the Bishoprick of Worcester was endowed, the concourse of rich and poor going to the Bishop becanse the Bishoprick is between England and Wales, and because the Bishop came from the nobility of the Kingdom, was of good repute, and of great literary ability, he hoped that the Church of Bishop's Cleeve, of which the Bishop held the right of patronage, might be appropriated to his use;[3] but also to the English Cardinal Hugh of Evesham, Archdeacon of Worcester, urging the same thing; and the Queen wrote in the same strain to the Bishop of Tusculum.[4] The united efforts were successful, the profits of the Church of Cleeve were appropriated to the Bishop's table to compensate him for the money he had spent on the Welsh War.[5]

[1] Peckham's *Register*, ii, 494.
[2] Giffard's *Register*, 222.
[3] Giffard's *Register*, 223.
[4] *Ibid.*, 224.
[5] *Ibid.*, 396.

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APPENDIX.

It will be as well to add a document, from the first volume of the *Report of the Historical MSS. Commission* for 1901, which is among the Records of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.[1] Mr. Lane Poole describes it as "a fragment of a history written late in the 13th century and possibly drawn up by one of Archbishop Peckham's clerks at the time when he was occupied with the Welsh negotiation." This is most likely to be so, as the style is very similar to that of the letters in Peckham's *Register* on the Welsh war, and probably all were written by the same scribe.

"[Q]uemadmodum ystoriagrophorum grata laudabilisque prioritas rerum gestarum nobis scribendo seriem pro nobis hactemus laboravit sic et nostre posteritatis tenetur gratuitas de hiis que nostris contigerunt temporibus vel que per fide dignorum relatum ad nostrum pervenerunt auditum aliquid notitie nostrorum relinquere posteriorum: ut illa quibus scitis et memorie commendatis incumbentia sibi discretius ordinare ac se contra futura pericula poterunt cautius premunire, et que ad eorum notitiam propter ignorantiam minime pervenirent vel forte perventa succedentibus temporum intervallis de ipsorum labili memoria possent oblivionis pumice aboliri, saltim scripture inspectio representet. Ea propter ego, licet in comparacione ille cui paterfamilias unicum talentum ad negotiandum tradidisse refertur,[2] quodammodo quo ad paucitatem michi concesse[3] scientie dici possim, pecuniam tamen domini mei vel meum vomerem nolens in terram abscondere ne forte rubigine consumatur, de illius confisus gratia, *qui nulli inproperans dat omnibus affluenter*[4] et qui os tetigit Ieremie dicens, *Ecce posui verba mea in ore tuo*,[5] quique dicit per Iacobum

[1] It is in Vol. iii, pp. 169, 170, of the Books lettered "Sede Vacante," but is really a volume containing records found in 1894.

[2] Matth. xxv, 14-25. All the notes to this document are those printed in the *Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission.*

[3] Except the last three letters the whole of this word has been rubbed away.

[4] Jac. i, 5. [5] Jer. i, 9.

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apostolum et Ezechielem prophetam et psalmum, *Aperi* vel *Dilata os tuum et adimplebo illud*,[1] et alibi *Cum fueritis ante reges et presides nolite soliciti esse*,[2] et alibi in psalmo *Dominus dabit verbum evangelizantibus in virtute multa*,[3] etc., et os aperiam et calamum preparabo ad scribendum guerram [gestam[4]] in Wallia hiis diebus. Hec ut omnibus circa eam causa divine liqueat ultionis que de ipsa divina fuisse [. . . . .] quicquid factum est in eadem factum dei non hominis videatur, Wallensium condiciones et modum prout verius et compendiosius potero, d [. . . . .] latoriis nec cuiquam capud peccatoris oleo inpinguabo, cum cuiquam preter merita doleam famam dare. Natio [. .] Wallensium [. .] exterminio erudita obliquo eloquio Grece lingue de Troia traxit originem, que post excidium huiusmodi [. . . . .] huc illucque dispersa oceanis fluctibus exposuit se in lignis. Quam cum diversas ad insulas fluctus equorei sepius proiecissent, tandem suasu diabolico in silvestri furibundaque Cambria se recepit. Que talis patroni beneplacitis nisa est inherere prout calami mei officio patefiet. Cum enim, sacra testante pagina, tria sunt que Altissimo multum placent, scilicet, *concordia fratrum, amor proximorum, et vir et mulier sibi bene consentientes*,[5] nichil hiis tribus erat odibilius isti genti; et ne longe petantur exempla, Lewelinus Wallie nuper princeps Owenum fratrem suum primogenitum carceri mancipavit tenuitque captum fere toto tempore vite sue. David alium fratrem suum voluntarie relegavit. Rotherum quartum fratrem suum quem obsidem posuerat liberare postmodum non curavit. Et quem amorem habuerunt ad proximos, cedes hominum senum et iuvenum, virorum et mulierum, nec non infantium, factaque per eos manifestant incendia et rapine. Et ne tertium membrum videar preterire, in terra Wallie generaliter est hucusque servatum, quod quecunque mulier nobilis seu vilis habens virum quantumcumque fortem, divitem, atque pulcrum ac secun-

[1] Ezek. ii, 8; Ps. lxxx, 11 [lxxxi, 10].

[2] I supply these last words from Luc. xii, 11. They appear to be in part interlined, but the writing has almost completely perished from damp. The injury extends through several lines, and besides making many readings necessarily conjectural, leaves some lacunae which cannot be filled up.

[3] Ps. lxvii, 12 [lxviii, 11].

[4] The writing has perished.

[5] Eccli. xxv, 2.

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dum conditionem regionis illius nobilem, reputaret omnibus se infamem nisi lenonem haberet vel amasium cum marito, licet ipso conditionibus omnibus viliorem. Viri quoque legitimas habentes uxores, maritalis thori contempto concubitu, passim et indifferenter modo has modo illas capiebant; nec in cuiuslibet fornicationis specie correctioni ecclesiastice, prohibente principe, locus erat; sed ex tali coitu generati in parentis[1] utriusque successione legitimis preferrentur, vel saltim succederunt cum [. . . . .[2]] quod in iisdem fratribus est apertum, quia, licet illegitimi, tamen parentibus successerunt. Gens ista malis huiusmodi non contenta ociosa [li]center [?] nulli Anglico, ut alii, fidem servavit hucusque, nisi forsitan utlagatis. Et breviter bonum facere non credebat nisi dum vacabat ebrietatibus, carnis luxui, homicidiis, incendiis, vel rapinis; ac corporis desidia sauciata non querebat pro victu quomodolibet laborare nisi per rapinam tantummodo vel per furtum, paucis villanis dum taxat exceptis, qui terras taliter qualiter excolebant. Et quod ita vixerint a tempore cuius potest hominis memoria recordari usque ad annum decimum regni Edwardi regis Angl[ie] tertii, seniores Anglie requirantur, quid ipsi et quociens de gente viderint huiusmodi, et quid ab eorum patribus de ipsius vita maliciis audiverunt. Et credo quod auditores citius tedio gravabuntur ex hiis que de ista materia poterunt enarrari, quam patrata fuerant recitata. Set forte queri posset quid fecit natio Anglicana temporibus retroactis, quare gentis istius, quam totiens invenerat repugnantem, memoriam non abstulit de hoc mundo. Respondeo quod quotiens Reges mitissimi Anglicorum faciente[3] dicte gentis malitia concitati ad partes venerunt Wallie ipsam penitus destruere cogitantes, istorum regum animos preserva natio simulata penitentia mitigavit, ipsique Reges, iuxta illud quod evangelista Christum dixisse testatur, *non dico septies set usque septuagesies septies*,[4] etc., totiens huic nationi perverse remiserunt commissa, quotiens committere presumpserunt. Et quia nolo tedere animos auditorum, resecare[5] que super hiis amplius dici possent ad intellectum huius operis dirigam calamum atque mentem. Relegatus

[1] MS. inpentes.
[2] The writing is here concealed by an orange stain.
[3] So MS.; perhaps for *patente*.
[4] Matth. xviii, 22.
[5] MS. *reseca*.

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itaque dictus David ab Edwardo predicto nondum ad regni solium sublimato, cum honore maximo in socium est susceptus. Datisque sibi de dictis possessionibus Edwardi quantum ei sufficere poterat et debebat, traditur ei quedam in regni nobilioribus in uxorem. Cumque idem Edwardus fuisset de Regem inunctus, ac magnates, Comites, Barones, et milites regni pro terris suis homagia cum fidelitatis debito facere tenerentur, dictus superius Lewelinus homagium debitum nisi Rex illud inter dumos Wallie reciperet, eidem Regi prestare recusans, non solum depredatus est gentes suas, verum etiam indifferenter nulli parcens condicioni, sexui, vel etati, quos potuit interfecit. Rex autem, non statim volens prorumpere ad vindictam, totiens ipsum L. facturum sibi homagium iudicialiter evocavit, quotiens sibi et suis magnatibus conveniens visum fuit, ita quod fere tractum trium annorum evocationes huiusmodi habuerunt. Demum eodem Lewelino quod tenebatur facere contempnente[1] dictus Rex, Walliam tam per terram quam per mare armis et portuensi navigio circumcingens, super dictum L., Cantreda quatuor cum Angles' conquisivit. Cumque videret idem L. se diu Regi resistere non valere, veniam petiit et obtinuit de commissis, fidelitatem et homagium Regi London' faciendo, licet eas postmodum diutius non servavit. Quibus factis de liberali [p. 170] mansuetudine innata regibus Anglicanis, datur ei regis consanguinea in uxorem; restituitur, Angles'; et David fratri suo de conquisitis, una cum aliis terris quas de dono Regis ipsius prius habuerat, duo Cantreda donantur verisimiliter meliora. Hiis peractis silet Cambria quinque annis, infra quos Rex tria tam in boriali quam in australi parte Wallie firmat castra. Completis siquidem quinque annis, cum Rex ipse Wallenses plus solito velle servare pacem crederet, en subito tempore illo quo communiter peccatores de omnibus peccatis suis et pravis cogitationibus penitere ac carnem suam pro suis excessibus macerare consueverunt, tempore videlicet passionis, vigilia Pasche floride, anno dicti Regis E. x^mo,[2] David ille perditionis et[3] ingratitudinis filius, confederatis sibi Lewelino principe, Reso Vachan, Gronw[4] ab Heylyn,

[1] MS. *contemptentem.* [2] 21 March 1281-2.
[3] *Et* omitted in MS.
[4] The *w* is followed by an upright stroke which may be a mere flourish at the end of the line.

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et aliis partium illarum satellitibus bellicosis et potentibus, iuxta illud psalmum *Quemadmodum patres eorum, conversi sunt in arcum pravum*,[1] etc., in Rogerum de Clifford conpatrem suum, cui pridie duos salmones transmiserat in signum amicitie specialis et a quo ad futurum festum Pasche fuerat invitatus, suosque socios nulla diffidentia precedente irruit, ac socios[2] interfecit, uno tamen excepto, Pagano videlicet de Gammages, eundem vulneratum et socium[3] diris mancipat carceribus; villas Regis comburit; homines, mulieres interficit et infantes, nulli prorsus parcens ordini, conditioni, sexui, vel etati exceptis hominibus lingue sue. Castra regia obsidet et inpugnat suibus atque catis. Cumque obsessum castrum non posset capere Rothelanum, ecce Lewelinus, rem prius gestam factam suo nomine manifestans, castrum ipsum hominibus et machinis circumvallat; et licet obsessi obsidentium insultibus viriliter repugnarent, tamen diu non poterant se tenere, cum Amadeus de Sabaudia cum regis familiaribus ab ipso transmissis in subsidium obsessorum adest cum docta ad arma probatissima comitiva, cuius adventum Wallensis exercitus expectare non audens dispergitur huc et illuc. Tandem rex congregatis."

Here at the end of a line and membrane the record ends; for the document is written on only one skin (nearly 21 × 9 inches).[4]

[1] Ps. lxxvii [lxxviii], 57.
[2] MS. *sociis*.
[3] Perhaps for *saucium*.
[4] Historical MSS. Commission, vol. i, 1901, pp. 246-250.

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Correspondence.

OWAIN LAWGOCH.

In the last *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, Mr. Edward Owen and Mr. J. H. Davies have endeavoured to show that the Yeuain de Galles of Froissart, the Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri of the genealogies, and the Owen Lawgoch of tradition, are one and the same person. No one who has studied the evidence which has been collected by the industrious learning of Mr. Edward Owen can doubt that he has made out one part of his case, viz., that the "Owen of Wales" who was slain "by great unhap and treason" by John Lamb in 1378, was the grandson of Rhodri, the brother of Llewelyn the last Prince. But I take leave to question if Mr. Owen and Mr. Davies have made it "absolutely certain" that Owen de Galles is also the Owen Lawgoch of Welsh tradition. The onus of proof lies upon those who elect to set up such a theory, and much stronger evidence than has as yet been made public is required before any other verdict than "non proven" can be returned by a critical and impartial tribunal.

Let me deal briefly with Mr. Edward Owen's reasons for coming to that conclusion.

i. It seems clear that Owen ap Thomas returned to England and successfully claimed his inheritance in Nov. 1365. Six months later—about the end of March 1366—he left England for ever. In the winter of 1369-70, his lands were forfeited because he had joined the King's enemies in France, *et in partibus transmarinis de guerra equitavit contra fidem et ligeanceam suam.*

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Shortly after, sometime in 1370-71, according to an entry in the *Record of Carnarvon* (p. 133), one Gruffydd Sais, a free tribesman of Anglesey, was tried and found guilty at Conway, *de sedicione de eo quod adherens fuisset Owino Lawegogh inimico et proditori praedicti domini principis et 'de consilio praedicti Owyni ad movendam guerram in Wallia contra praedictum dominum principem.*

It is undoubtedly curious that Gruffydd Sais should be an adherent and "of the council" of an Owen Lawgoch, who was designing a war in Wales at the very time that Owen ap Thomas was being adjudged a traitor to the King for having joined the King's enemies over sea. The coincidence is so striking, that it was remarked many years before Principal Rhys drew fresh attention to it last year. But a single coincidence, however curious, is not sufficient to base such a proposition upon as we are now asked to accept.

On the other hand, the omissions are equally curious, if we are disposed to embrace Mr. Edward Owen's conjecture.

1. Owen ap Thomas is nowhere accused of having intended to make war in Wales. The last *inquisitio* was made on Jan. 20, 1370—not many months, perhaps not many weeks, before the conviction of Gruffydd Sais. No mention is made of any act of treason except that of joining the King's enemies over sea. Had Owen ap Thomas designed to raise a revolt in Wales, is it probable that the fact should not be mentioned in the *inquisitio?*

2. Before a man would be known generally by an epithet such as "Lawgoch", it is fair to assume that he would be well-known personally in Wales. The "Owen Lawgoch" of the *Record of Carnarvon* was so well-known a personage in the locality that no further description of him was thought necessary. This does not fit in with

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what is known of the career of Owen de Galles. Born about 1332, he went abroad to the Court of King Philip of France in his youth. As Philip died in 1350 he must have been in France before that year. He is not known to have returned to this country before 1365, and Froissart distinctly states that he took part in the battle of Poictiers in 1356, and went as captain of a Free Company to Lombardy after the Peace of Bretagne in 1360. The tenants of his father's manor of Dynas in Montgomery knew so little of him in 1364 that they made a return to the effect that Thomas ap Rhodri had died without heirs. "It is, indeed, impossible to resist the conclusion," says Mr. Owen (p. 52) "that they knew nothing of Owen: and if they, the tenants of Dynas, knew little, how much less the rest of the Principality."

Owen could not, according to Mr. Edward Owen's account, have remained more than a year in England. During his sojourn there is no record of his ever having visited any part of Wales. He had no near relatives in the country, his childhood had been passed in England, his youth and early manhood—16 of his best years—in France and on the Continent. It is not likely that he knew Welsh, or that he had begun to cherish the high ambition, which he proclaimed in 1372, of winning back the crown of his ancestors. There exists no evidence—or, at least, none is forthcoming—that he was known in Wales in 1371. No contemporary bard sang his praises; no mention of his name is to be found in any Welsh record for another generation. Is it conceivable, then, that so complete a stranger should have been briefly and concisely described in an official record in Carnarvon as "Owen of the Red Hand"? Is it to be supposed that the personal peculiarities of Owen ap Thomas—who had lived nearly all his life "*in longinquis partibus*"—were so well known

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to his countrymen in Carnarvon that he was familiarly known as "Lawgoch".[1]

3. Not only is the identity of this "Owen Lawgoch" left undisclosed, but the nature and time of his offence are not mentioned. It is to be noted that Owen is said to have intended to make war in Wales against the Prince, while Owen ap Thomas's offence was against the King. It is a pity that there seems to be no entry in the Ministers' Accounts, which can help to clear up the mystery.

ii. Mr. Edward Owen admits that the entry in the *Record of Carnarvon* is by no means conclusive, and he seeks to bridge the chasm in the identification of the two Owens by other evidence. At one time Mr. Owen seems to have been satisfied by a poem of Llewelyn ap Cynwrig Ddu o Fôn, which is set out at length by Mr. J. H. Davies.

"It is impossible to read the poem (says Mr. Owen), without acknowledging that *its testimony is ample as to the identity of Owen Lawgoch* with Owen of Wales."

And again (p. 73):—

"The defective link, that is, the identification of Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri with Owen Lawgoch, though morally certain, is rendered absolutely so by the same old poem of Llewelyn ap Cynwrig Ddu, to which we have already alluded; for the bard, *in addressing the red-handed Owen, distinctly styles him the son of Thomas and grandson of Rhodri.*"

No one who reads the poem with any care can fail to see that, whatever else it may mean, it certainly does *not* mean that Owen Lawgoch and Owen ap Thomas are one and the same person. Mr. J. H. Davies makes no such claim for

[1] Mr. Edward Owen, in a note on p. 72, seems to suggest that Owen of Wales was called "Llawgoch" because he was wounded in the hand during his attack upon Guernsey. But that attack took place in 1372; whereas the *Record of Carnarvon* mentions an Owen Lawgoch in 1370–1.

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the poem as is made by Mr. Owen. Indeed, he expressly says (p. 72) :—

"In line 32 there is a mention of Owen Lawgoch, but *we have quite failed to gather its meaning or make out its connection with the three preceding lines.*"

Later on a distinct reference is made to Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri, but he is in no way identified with Owen Lawgoch.

The heading given by Mr. J. H. Davies to the poem is "Cywydd i Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri." It does not appear if that is the heading given in the MS. or not. If it is, it is submitted that it is erroneous. The poem is not one in praise of Owen ap Thomas, who is mentioned as having been murdered, and who could not therefore be the deliverer of Wales. The real point of the poem, it is suggested, is in the four lines :—

"O llas Owain Gain Gwynedd
Fab Tomas ffureiddwas y ffydd
Mae gan Grist gyfiawn wisgall
Awen aer Owen arall."

Who this "aer Owen arall" was is a matter of conjecture; but it may well be that the poet, while lamenting the failure of the old prophecies about Owen Lawgoch, and the death of Owen ap Thomas, the last male representative of the princely line of Gwynedd, should take consolation in the fact that "aer Owen arall"—such as Henry of Richmond, the grandson of Owen Tudor—would come from over the sea to fulfil the old *brudiau* of the bards.

iii. Though Mr. Edward Owen, on p. 73, professes to be satisfied with the poem of Llewelyn, he says, three pages later, that he regards the entry in the Harleian MSS. folio 63*b*, note g, "as supplying the link *hitherto required* to unite Owen Lawgoch, Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri, and Owen of Wales, in one indissoluble identity." The entry

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itself was made about two centuries after the death of Owen of Wales,—a fact which, one would have thought, would have made a scholar of Mr. Owen's standing and experience pause before accepting it as conclusive. But it is not only two centuries late, but in every particular which can be put to the test of independent evidence it is incorrect and even nonsensical. This is a short list of the writer's errors :—

1. Thomas Rotherick, the father of Owen "Logate", is said to have "pretended without title to have been Prince of Wales". Thomas, as far as is known, made no such pretence.

2. "And there was put in prison and there died." There is not a tittle of evidence that this assertion is true.

3. "Owen aforesaid went into Denmarke." No record of this journey is to be found anywhere, though the Owen Lawgoch of the bards is expected to come from Denmark to rout the Saxon.

4. "Of purpose to have wedded the king's daughter." This is merely "the luxuriant accretion of a treacherous memory."

5. "His own chamberlayne slew him." By a stretch of imagination only can John Lambe be termed Owen's "chamberlain".

6. "The King exiled the said chamberlayne." Mr. Edward Owen has shown that Lambe was honoured and rewarded by the King for murdering Owen de Galles.

"The very mixture of fiction . . . . and of fact . . . . gives the notice an importance for us," says Mr. Owen, "that it would not have possessed had it been confined to facts alone." A strange doctrine, surely, and one that reverses the usual practice of historians and archæologists as well as of lawyers. Because the writer

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can be proved to be wrong in every statement of fact which can be tested by independent evidence, he is entitled to credence on a point in acute controversy for which there exists little or no other proof!

But even this writer does not call Owen ap Thomas "Owen Lawgoch". He describes him as "Owen Logate", which Mr. Edward Owen assumes is the same as "Lawgoch". The assumption is purely gratuitous and arbitrary. We find that the Manor of Allhurst, of which the writer was treating, was granted to "Roger atte Gate" after it had been forfeited by "Owen Rotherick" (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 4 Ric. II, p. 1). We might as well assume that the stupid herald, who is responsible for an entry teeming with inaccuracies, mixed up the two men "atte Gate" and "Owen", and by a characteristic effort arrived at "Logate"!

iv. With regard to the other two MSS. cited by Mr. Owen (Pen. MS. 119 and Harl. 1157), it is sufficient to note that neither could have been written before 1550, and that probably the date of both is in the 17th century. The evidence only goes to show that as early as the beginning of the 17th century, Welshmen had taken to misreading mediæval poems. The writer of the note in the Pen. MS. (Gruffydd Hiraethog?) had evidently read Froissart's account of Owen de Galles, either in the original, or in Lord Berner's translation (1523), or in some Welsh version. He had also read some of the old *brudiau*—perhaps he had copied the poem of Llewelyn ap Cynwrig Ddu which Mr. Edward Owen still thinks contains "ample testimony" of the identity of Owen Lawgoch and Owen de Galles. Thomas Stephens, in his essay on the Madoc myth, showed how prone the Welshmen of Elizabeth were to misunderstand mediæval Welsh poetry, and to build upon their misinterpretations

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an imposing edifice of legend. The writer of the Peniarth MS. had evidently misunderstood the references in 15th century *cywyddau* to Owen ap Thomas and Owen Lawgoch. From the very nature of the case, the MS. can be no evidence of any value as to the identity of the Owen Lawgoch of the *Record of Carnarvon*.

Who then was Owen Lawgoch? He would be a rash man who would, in our present state of knowledge, attempt to identify him. This much is certain. In 1371, or a short time before, there was a traitor and outlaw who was called "Owen Lawgoch". It may be that he was but an outlaw of local fame—a predecessor of the bandits who were called "Gwylliaid Cochion Mawddwy". But whoever he was, it is fairly certain that he was not the Owen Lawgoch of tradition, the Owen who is said to lie in a cave in Carmarthenshire ready for the summons which will call him to deliver Wales from the yoke of the oppressor. That Owen is of a far more ancient origin. We find him as early as the earliest Welsh MSS. Mr. J. H. Davies, in his paper, cites a few lines from the Mostyn MS. 133 :—

"Pan fo rrudd redyn
Pan fo koch kelyn
Y daw gwyr Llychlyn
} a'i bwaill awchliw

"Gidag Owain Lowgoch
A' ibaladr rryddgoch
I guro Saeson fel moch
} Ynghors Vochno."

The MS. is in the handwriting, according to Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans, of John Jones, Gelli, who flourished 1600-1623, but it is ascribed both in this MS. and by Sir Thos. Williams (Pen. MS. 94) to Taliesin. That is a fact not without significance—that Taliesin should have been supposed to have predicted the coming of Owen Lawgoch, the deliverer, from over the sea in company

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with the men of Denmark and Scandinavia (Llychlyn) to conquer the Saxons in Cors Fochno.[1]

Now, in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (*circa* 1170 A.D.) the names are given of nine battle-fields, and among them "Cad Corsmochno", "Cad Kyminod", and "Cad Ieithion" (p. 31), where the Welsh will triumph over their foes. Not only in poems ascribed to Taliesin, but in many others we find constant references to these battle-fields, and often in connection (as in the lines cited above) with the name of Owen Lawgoch. That, it is submitted, is the meaning of the reference to Owen Lawgoch and Taliesin in the poem of Llewelyn ap Cynwrig Ddu, which has already been mentioned. The same idea runs through a poem by Iolo Goch, (p. 224, Ashton's Edition), in which the following lines occur:—

"Darogan Uthr Ben Dragwn
Y bu hir mai byw yw hwn
Weithiau ymlid greulon groch
Owain wiw loiwgan lowgoch
Cyn'a lle y byddi'm geintach
Ynghors Fochno gaergro grach," etc., etc.

In another poem of Iolo Goch's (p. 210), a still more distinct reference to the "naw câd yn daladwy" is made in a poem which begins—

"Y gwr hir, ni'th gar Harri,
Adfyd aeth, a wyd fyw di?"

and which is evidently a poem written to Glyndwr during his "retirement" in 1406-7.

Without further labouring a point which could be illustrated by dozens of quotations from mediæval poetry, we

[1] Of course it is not suggested that Taliesin was in fact the author of the lines. The only significance attaching to the lines is that they show that early in the 17th century John Jones, Gelli, and Sir Thomas Williams, believed the tradition about Owen Lawgoch to be so old that they ascribed the lines to an early Welsh poet.

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may sum up our conclusions by saying that the tradition about Owen Lawgoch, the deliverer of Wales, is much earlier than Owen de Galles. So prevalent was the tradition early in the 15th century, that Iolo Goch refers to it in poems to Owen Glyndwr, in which he would fain assure his countrymen that his patron was the Owen whom they had long been expecting. Lewys Glyn Cothi, later in the century, in his poem to Owen ap Gruffydd ap Nicholas, alludes to the same tradition :—

" Cri Owain Rhodri lle'r oedd
Aeth ei ofn i eithafoedd:
Owain y glyn hen a'i gledd;
Owain Niclas a'i nawcledd:
Owain Gwynedd, llin Gynan,
Owain vraisg, Ewin y frân," etc.

Here, as often in 15th century poems (*see e.g.* Pen MS. 50), we have a distinct reference to "Owain Rhodri" or Owen de Galles as one of the heroes of Wales: but it is rather startling to find Mr. J. H. Davies, usually a sober judge, asserting (p. 99):—

" Owain Rhodri is here, we are of opinion, no other than Owen Lawgoch in another guise."

As a matter of fact, the poem contains no reference at all to Owen Lawgoch. It would be quite as true to say that "Owen y Glyn" is referred to as Owen Lawgoch. The truth is, the bard, in eulogising Owen ap Gruffydd, was running over a list of famous Owens.

This is, indeed, a point which cannot be overlooked in this controversy. Though Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri is often mentioned by Welsh writers in the 15th century—by Owen Glyndwr, Llewelyn ap Cynwrig Ddu, Lewys Glyn Cothi, etc.—nowhere is he called "Owen Lawgoch". Surely, if he is the Owen Lawgoch of fame and tradition, the rival of Arthur in myth and story, the bards would not have called him Owen ap Thomas, or Owen Rhodri,

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but invariably Owen Lawgoch. It is one almost insuperable obstacle in the way of Mr. Edward Owen's theory that, though Owen ap Thomas was often alluded to in 15th century poetry, he is never called "Owen Lawgoch" till late in the 16th or early in the 17th century.

The bards were looked upon as seers as well as minstrels. Down to the 16th century we find Welshmen rising against English rule instigated by the interpretation put by the bards upon the so-called prophecies of Myrddin and Taliesin. Whenever a national hero of the name of Owen appeared they acclaimed him as Owen Lawgoch, the hero of the nine battle-fields of Cors Vochno, Cwminod, and the rest. At last we find them finding the verification of their prophecies in the success of Henry, the grandson of Owen Tudor. The fact that the career of Owen of Wales was so shortly and so brilliantly followed by that of Owen Glyndwr undoubtedly popularised the old tradition.

This explanation does not of course do away with one difficulty, viz., who was the Owen Lawgoch of 1371, mentioned in the *Record of Carnarvon?* But whatever answer may be in time given to that question, it will not be a very important matter, if it is established that the traditional "Owen Lawgoch" was of a far earlier date. That seems to be attested by one other piece of evidence, slight and inconclusive in itself, it is true, but taken in conjunction with what has already been said, worthy of some consideration. The tradition about Owen Lawgoch is to be found exclusively in South Wales. Neither Owen de Galles nor the Owen Lawgoch of the *Record of Carnarvon* can be shown to have ever had the slightest connection with that part of the Principality. If the Owen of 1370 was the Lawgoch of tradition, we should expect to find the tradition either common to all Wales or strongest in Carnarvon and Montgomery. But the very reverse is the case.

W. Llewelyn Williams.

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OWAIN LAWGOCH—A REJOINDER.

The critical examination to which Mr. Llewelyn Williams has subjected the conclusions arrived at by Mr. J. H. Davies and myself upon the identity of this hero of Welsh romance demands an exhaustive and careful reply.

I must at the outset confess myself considerably disappointed with the point of view from which Mr. Williams has discussed the problem. His criticism seems to be based upon the general rule of the profession to which we both belong, and of which he is a distinguished ornament, namely, the refusal to accept what cannot be proved save by the strictest legal methods and to the complete satisfaction of a modern court of justice. Now, while I agree with Mr. Llewelyn Williams that the onus of proving an historical fact, or of justifying the conclusions derived from certain historical data, lies upon the assertor of such fact or conclusion, I consider that the quantum of proof necessary to support either the fact or the conclusion in the court of history is very different, both in weight and in volume, to that which is most justly required by a court of law. Where a man's life or honour are at stake the advocate rightly demands the most indubitable proof, rightly contends that the slightest flaw or hiatus are fatal to the rest of his opponent's case, and rightly advances every objection, however trivial or technical, that tells in favour of his client. The conditions of proof of an historical circumstance that transpired many centuries ago are essentially different. Thus, the majority of Welshmen so far believe in the corporeal existence, many hundreds of years ago, of St. David as to consider that they

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are justified in transforming the first day of each recurring March into a saturnalia; and no one doubts but that they are right in their belief, whatever one may think of their practice. But suppose Mr. Llewelyn Williams were to call for proofs of the actual life of St. David, and require those proofs to be such as would command a verdict from that palladium of English liberties, a British jury, what could be said? Certainly nothing that would satisfy the requirements of the case. A verdict would be given without the jury leaving their box, and the shade of St. David would have to depart with not a shred of character left him. He might appeal to the more equitable court of history—'equity being the correction of that wherein the law, by reason of its universality, is deficient'—whose greater freedom of procedure would enable him to produce such evidence as would probably satisfy the court of his former existence in the flesh.

I now pass to the consideration of the points upon which Mr. Llewelyn Williams claims a verdict of "non proven" from a critical and impartial tribunal.

(1) Gruffydd Sais was an adherent and 'of the counsel' (*i.e*, in the confidence) of Owen Lawgoch in the design of raising war in Wales (*ad movendam guerram in Wallia*). Owen ap Thomas (whose identity with Oweyn de Galles Mr. Williams admits) "is nowhere accused of having intended to make war with Wales." Therefore, argues Mr. Williams, Owen Lawgoch cannot be the same personage as Owen ap Thomas. If Mr. Williams will peruse the directions issued to the barons having lands in Wales or the Marches, printed in the *Fœdera*, I think he must come to the conclusion that the possibility of a descent upon Wales was for years present to the English government. And, although it is true that Owen is not referred to by name in those proclamations, yet, seeing

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that it was known that at this very time he was in the French service, and would therefore be certain to take part in any attempt whenever made, and also that the enemy possessed adherents in the Principality—who else amongst "our enemies" could possess adherents in Wales save Owen 'of Wales?'—it is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than that the proclamations, though naturally in general terms, were really aimed at an Owen, who in France was called 'de Galles', and by the writer of the entry in the *Record of Caernarvon* was known as Owain Lawgoch, and at his adherents. Besides, it should be remembered that when Owen de Galles did set sail he is distinctly stated by one French chronicler to have intended a landing in England, a geographical expression which, in the writer's mind, might well have covered Wales. As to Mr. Williams's query: 'Had Owen ap Thomas designed to raise a revolt in Wales, is it probable that the fact should not be mentioned in the *inquisitio?*' I reply that Mr. Williams appears to altogether misapprehend the purpose of such an inquiry. It would be most unusual for the inquest to depart so far from its proper functions, unless it had been strictly enjoined to do so by a special clause in the writ to the escheator.

2. The sobriquet "Lawgoch". I pass by the consideration of this undoubted difficulty for the present. But I must remark that the legal habit of exaggeration to the point of distortion appears in my friend's remark that "the 'Owen Lawgoch' of the *Record of Caernarvon* was so well-known a personage in the locality [? what locality] that no further description of him was thought necessary." There is no question of a 'description' of Owen, whether 'Lawgoch' or 'de Galles', in any English official records. The entry in the *Record of Caernarvon* concerns Gruffudd Sais, not Owen Lawgoch, and it was certainly not the

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custom in English administrative records of the fourteenth century to be as explicit as is the modern *Police Gazette*. The same perversion of his opponent's meaning, and in this case, of his words, is seen in Mr. Williams's remark that on p. 72 of my article I seem to suggest that Owen of Wales was called "Llawgoch" *because* he (Owen) was wounded in the hand during his attack upon Guernsey. I do nothing of the kind, and I submit that to a perfectly unprejudiced reader I *seem* to do nothing of the kind. I merely draw attention to the certainly strange coincidence that the Guernsey balladist should represent Owen of Wales as being wounded in the hand. It is, of course, nothing more than a coincidence.

3. The poetical allusions to Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri and to Owen Lawgoch. Here Mr. Williams comes to close quarters with Mr. J. H. Davies and myself. I have submitted this paper to Mr. Davies, who, in reference to the evidence contributed by him of the identity of Owen ap Thomas and Owen Lawgoch furnished by previously unknown bardic poems, observes that he is unable to see in Mr. Llewelyn Williams's argument any reasons for altering his already expressed opinions. I do not myself desire to enter a field that is so peculiarly Mr. Davies's own. The poems are open to the criticism of Welsh readers. Some may consider them conclusive, as I myself do; others may favour Mr. Williams's more sceptical standpoint.

There is, however, a small point relating to my own mental attitude, upon which Mr. Williams has seized with the keenness and promptitude of the practised advocate. He says that at one time I seem to have been satisfied of the identity of Owen ap Thomas and Owen Lawgoch by a poem of Llewelyn ap Cynfrig Ddu o Fôn; later on I pin my faith to the entry in Harleian MS. 2076 "as supplying

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the link *hitherto required* (Mr. Williams italicises these words) to unite, &c." The point is a trifling one, and is not worth labouring. The explanation of the two somewhat discrepant statements is that the first was written and in type before I had come upon the passage in the British Museum manuscript. The sheet in which that extract occurs was practically ready for printing, and it was only with difficulty that, at the last moment, I managed to insert it, in what I am afraid is a clumsy and ineffective manner. It seemed to me that the poem of Llewelyn ap Cynwrig ddu was 'good enough', but that the Harleian extract was 'one better'. I ought to have made this clear, but it is evident that I did not.

The bent of mind which Mr. Williams has brought to the consideration of a purely historical question is nowhere more clearly manifest than in his dissection of the extract from the British Museum manuscript. The extraneous and subsidiary statements of the writer are seized and torn to pieces with the shallow logic of the advocate. The solid substratum of truth, obscured, it may be, by errors of detail and 'luxuriant accretions of a treacherous memory', is kept dark, because it tells for the other side. "Gentlemen of the jury," we may fancy Mr. Williams exclaiming, "you are asked to believe a writer who states that Owen was slain by his own 'chamberlayne', when it is only by the exercise of a vivid imagination that John Lambe can be described as Owen's 'chamberlain'. And yet, gentlemen, it is upon the testimony of a writer who can make so baseless a statement that you are asked to say that 'Logate' is equivalent to 'Lawgoch'. The whole thing is a ridiculous conspiracy which has taken in my learned friends, Mr. Owen and Mr. Davies. Why, gentlemen, it is even possible to trace the course of the fraud. 'We find that

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the manor of Althurst, of which the writer was treating, was granted to Roger atte Gate after it had been forfeited by Owen Rotherick . . . the stupid herald who is responsible for an entry which (as I have shown you) is teeming with inaccuracies, mixed up the two men 'atte Gate' and 'Owen', and by a characteristic effort arrived at 'Logate'." Why the 'stupid herald' should not have mixed up 'Roger' and 'Rotherick', instead of 'atte Gate' and 'Owen', is judiciously left unexplained.

But let us examine this entry a little more carefully than Mr. Williams's methods admit. In accordance with the excellent custom of his profession, a Cheshire genealogist of the latter half of the sixteenth century collected information respecting, and recorded the descent of, certain Cheshire properties. He had no care for historical details, except in so far as they authenticated the individuals whose ancestry he was tracing, and the changes that had taken place in the holding of the land that had been theirs. Mr. Williams will find hundreds of these semi-historical notes, made for genealogical purposes, in the Randle Holme volumes in the British Museum. Althurst was a small Cheshire estate which had belonged to "Owen Rotherick" who, I do not understand Mr. Williams to deny, was the Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri and the Owen de Galles of our quest. This was the sole point of interest for the genealogist, and beyond recording the traditional story of the circumstances which had led to the close of one proprietorship, he had no concern with the precise manner in which that consummation had been attained. Assuming for a moment that the Owen ap Thomas who, we know, had once been its owner, was also the same personage as Owen Lawgoch, the departure from the actual facts in the story collected by a writer of two centuries later is not greater than might reasonably be

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looked for, and the real matter of astonishment is to find that the popular story as told in Cheshire ingle nooks had preserved sufficient of its original features to enable us to recognise them.[1]

How trivial are all these errors, if errors they are, in face of the central fact to which I have adverted. I unhesitatingly repeat that "the very mixture of fiction . . . and of fact . . . . gives the (Cheshire writer's) notice an importance for us that it would not have possessed had it been confined to facts alone." This doctrine may reverse the theories on evidence of some lawyers, but I believe it will commend itself to those historians and archæologists who have much acquaintance with the growth of legend upon a substratum of truth.

I have arrived at the point in Mr. Williams's communication when, having broken down my case, as he thinks,

[1] Mr. Williams's remark that the entry "in every particular which can be put to the test of independent evidence is incorrect and even nonsensical," is another specimen of barristerial exaggeration. Let us analyse Mr. Williams's points:—

"(1) Thomas Rotherick, the father of Owen 'Logate', is said to have 'pretended without title to have been Prince of Wales.' Thomas made no such pretence."—Where is Mr. Williams's "independent evidence" for this categorical denial? Thomas bore the coat-of-arms of Llewelyn ap Gruffudd, and might well have used loose language about his ancestors, which would be caught up and enlarged by popular rumour.

"(2) 'And there was put in prison and there died.' There is not a tittle of evidence that this assertion is true."—I quite agree; but there can be little doubt that Owen represented to the King and nobles of France that his father was *a* if not *the* Prince of Wales, and had been done to death by the English King.

"(3) 'Owen aforesaid went into Denmarke.' No record of this journey is to be found anywhere."—Does Mr. Williams think that Owen kept a diary, or that it should be possible to produce his tavern bills? Even Mr. Williams himself has to admit that "the Owen Lawgoch of the bards is expected to come from Denmark to rout the Saxon". And Owen, in his agreement with the King of

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he finds himself bound to substitute some other conjecture, or to acknowledge his inability to do so.

"Who then was Owen Lawgoch?" he asks, and the only reply he can advance to his own question is the extraordinarily lame and fatuous one: "It may be that he was but an outlaw of local fame—a predecessor of the bandits who were called 'Gwylliaid Cochion Mawddwy'." What a fall is there! The man, whatever may have been his name, who had kept in constant dread the able administrators of England, who had supporters in Wales whom it was necessary to curb, is gravely suggested to have been no more than a common footpad! And, be it observed, that whereas for the suggestion I have offered, namely, that this personage was no other than Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri ap Gruffudd ap Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, and Owen de Galles, Mr. J. H. Davies and I have advanced evi-

France, distinctly asserts that he had visited "several christian kings, princes and noble lords, and have clearly declared and shown unto them my rights, and have requested and supplicated their aid". Why should not the King of Denmark have been amongst these?

"(4) 'Of purpose to have wedded the king's daughter.' This is merely 'the luxuriant accretion of a treacherous memory'."—I should rather regard it as the natural growth of an oft-told tale. There was bound to be a "fair lady" in so romantic a story as Owen's, and we are not surprised to find her introduced into the Guernsey ballad.

"(5) 'His own chamberlayne slew him.' By a stretch of imagination only can John Lambe be termed Owen's 'chamberlain'."—Really Mr. Williams should have read his opponent's exhibits more carefully. Froissart distinctly says that Owen so greatly loved Lamb as to have 'made him his chamberlayne' (p. 14, *Transactions*).

"(6) 'The King exiled the said chamberlayne.' Mr. Edward Owen has shown that Lambe was honoured and rewarded by the King for murdering Owen de Galles."—True; but I am not sure that the mission upon which Lamb was sent immediately on his arrival in England after Owen's murder, was not intended to remove him from the neighbourhood of the Court for a time, and might well have had the appearance of banishment to those who were not in the secret.

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dence which, so far as I can learn, has satisfied most of our readers, Mr. Williams has not produced a scintilla of proof for his counter suggestion. He is face to face with the entry in the *Record of Caernarvon*, and has to acknowledge the existence of a person who then, or at a later period, was known as Owen Lawgoch, but he is unable to get further than the above impotent conclusion. Never was clearer contrast between labouring mountain and diminutive product.

Then as to the word "Lawgoch", the consideration of which I have already admitted presents certain difficulties. "It is one almost insuperable obstacle in the way of Mr. Edward Owen's theory", observes Mr. Williams, "that though Owen ap Thomas was often alluded to in 15th century poetry, he is never called 'Owen Lawgoch' till late in the 16th or early in the 17th century." We meet with the name in the *Record of Caernarvon*; therefore, argues he, if Owen ap Thomas was also Owen Lawgoch, "the bards would not have called him Owen ap Thomas or Owen Rhodri, but invariably Owen Lawgoch". Now, it is obvious that Mr. Williams's argument rests on the single point, that the actual entry as we have it in the manuscript known as the *Record of Caernarvon* is strictly contemporary with the year 1371.[1] But it is nothing of the sort.

It should never be forgotten that this manuscript was written in the closing years of the 15th or opening years of the 16th century, and its contents must be accepted with the reservation that such a fact entails. Where it accurately copies a much earlier document, it of course assumes, upon the loss of the original, the value of the

[1] "In 1371, or a short time before, there was a traitor and outlaw who was called 'Owen Lawgoch'"; and again, "Who was the Owen Lawgoch of 1371, mentioned in the *Record of Carnarvon*?"

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original. It must, however, always be borne in mind that the scribe was liable to fall into the errors that have always waited upon copyists, and that, like all mediæval scribes he was prone to improve upon his exemplar by importing into his original the knowledge of his own day. My own view is that the entry of the conviction of Gruffudd Sais at Conway, made upon the plea roll of the 43rd year of King Edward the Third, did not contain the words "Owino Lawegogh", but that they were introduced by the compiler of the *Record* a century and a half later. Mr. Williams may observe that no evidence exists to warrant the acceptance of this hypothesis, and this I readily admit. But if he will study the later portion of the volume as carefully as I have, he will probably see reason to doubt whether we always have an exact reproduction of the entries upon the original rolls. Nevertheless, even if this suggestion be accepted as offering a feasible explanation of the occurrence of the name 'Lawgoch' in an entry relating to (but not written in) the year 1371, we are left quite as much in the dark as before respecting the date when the name first appears, and what it connoted to the man who first used it.[1]

[1] It was certainly in use before the close of the fifteenth century, and Mr. Llewelyn Williams is wrong in observing that "he (Owen) is never called 'Owen Lawgoch' till late in the 16th or early in the 17th century." My collaborator, Mr. J. H. Davies, has printed an extract from a poem of Lewis Mon containing the line

"Awn i Loeger Owain Lowgoch."

This poem is addressed to Owain Meurig, who lived in the early part of the reign of Henry the Seventh. Then we have Tudur Aled, with the line

"gan Loegr noc Owain Lowgoch"

in a poem addressed to John Puleston, who flourished about 1500. Mr. Williams also is hardly correct in saying that Owen Glyndwr makes mention of Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri; Glyndwr's allusion is to Yvo de Wallia, though, of course, the same personage is intended.

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Next we have the occurrence of 'On Loawgoch' in Hengwrt 351 (itself a copy of Hengwrt 96), a manuscript which the late Mr. W. W. E. Wynne attributes to the 16th and 17th centuries. Mr. Williams suggests that the scribe had read Froissart in the original or in Lord Berners' translation. It may be so, but the conjecture is wilder than any which I have indulged in.

Attention should here be directed to a point upon which Mr. Williams, departing from his position of critical reserve, comes down into the arena with a theory all his own, and in so doing lays himself open to the same form of direct assault as he has made upon Mr. Davies and myself. He will have it that there are two Owen Lawgochs—one, the historical Owen, whose embarrassing presence in the *Record of Caernarvon*, "the Owen Lawgoch of 1371", he cannot satisfactorily explain; the other, the Owen Lawgoch of tradition, who is "of a far more ancient origin". In order to establish the great antiquity of his traditional Owen he refers to certain poems which are to be found in the MS. called the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. This MS. was written before the year 1200, and if Mr. Williams's contention be correct that its contents allude to certain battle-fields "in connection with the name of Owen Lawgoch", it is manifest that he scores a strong point. But the fact is that, though Welsh mediæval poetry has abundant allusions to certain actual or anticipated encounters, in not a single manuscript written prior (in round figures) to the year 1500 is there an expression that can by any possibility be tortured into an allusion to an Owen specially known as "Lawgoch". "So prevalent was the tradition (*i.e.*, 'the tradition about Owen Lawgoch, the deliverer of Wales') early in the 15th century", says Mr. Williams, "that Iolo Goch refers to it in poems to Owen Glyndwr." My friend Mr. Davies has already printed one poem of Iolo's and

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commented upon it. It contains an obscure reference to an Owen whose home-coming had been long expected, but there is not the faintest allusion to a "Lawgoch", or even any proof that the apostrophised hero was Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri, beyond the reference to certain circumstances that better accord with what we now know of the history of Owen ap Thomas than with that of any other historic or mythic Owen, as Mr. Davies has pointed out.[1] The truth is, that in order to make an Owen

[1] With the view of showing that the Owen Lawgoch "of tradition" was associated by the mediæval bards with the nine traditionary conflicts "where the Welsh will triumph over their foes", Mr. Williams quotes a poem of Iolo Goch ("p. 224, Ashton's edition") containing the line

"Owain wiw loiwgan lowgoch".

There is no such line in the poem. The words will be found in the fourth line of p. 227 of Ashton's edition to run as follows—

"Owain laif loyw gain loywgoch".

This is the reading of the oldest manuscript of Welsh poetry in the British Museum, confirmed by several other MSS. enumerated by Ashton, and with the alternative—

"Addfaen saeth loiw-gain liwgoch".

of one MS.

My friend and collaborator, Mr. J. H. Davies, considers 'loywgoch' or 'liwgoch' to have reference to the bright red sword (laif . . . . . loywgoch) of the hero (? Glyndwr), and the poem to have nothing to do with Owen Lawgoch.

It is true that the next poem in Ashton's edition (p. 236) has the line as printed by Mr. Williams. But he has failed to notice that the compiler of the MS. whence the latter poem is taken has bungled two poems together, and that the combination is manifestly very corrupt. It is clear, on Mr. Williams's own principles of evidence, that its solitary reading of 'lowgoch' cannot be admitted to prevail over the much more authoritative and numerous instances of 'loywgoch', and equally certain that the latter cannot be distorted into the pseudonym of 'lawgoch'. I emphatically challenge Mr. Williams to produce his "dozens of quotations from mediæval poetry" (poetry, that is, written prior to the death of Owen ap Thomas) in proof of his contention "that the tradition about Owen Lawgoch, the deliverer of Wales, is much earlier than Owen de Galles".

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record running to this effect:—"Owen ap Thomas otherwise known as Owain Lawgoch". This I cannot do—at least yet, but I do not despair of alighting upon an entry which will carry conviction even to him. In the meantime I beg to call his attention to the following fresh contribution to the Owen Lawgoch story.

British Museum *Harleian* 3325 is a manuscript volume of which no full table of its contents has been published. Indeed, it is not apparent that the volume has ever been carefully examined in its entirety by a Welsh scholar, so that a great portion of it is practically, if not absolutely, unknown. It once belonged to Hugh Thomas the Brecknockshire genealogist, and the first part of it consists of monumental inscriptions collected by him from a number of Breconshire churches. This portion he, or its subsequent owner, the earl of Oxford, bound with a manuscript of altogether different character, a collection of genealogical memoranda written in Welsh by a South-Walian at the end of the 16th or commencement of the 17th century. Embedded as it were within this second manuscript is a fragment of a third altogether independent manuscript, written in English at about the same period as that of which it forms part, namely, the close of the 16th century. A full description of the whole will appear in the next part of the *Catalogue of the MSS. relating to Wales in the British Museum*. It must suffice for the present to say that this third portion appears to be an account, written from a genealogical point of view, of the family of North Wales princes, but it is difficult to decide whether it is the original composition of the scribe, or a transcript made by him from an earlier writer. After referring to the death of Llewelyn ap Gruffudd and the beheading of David, the manuscript continues:—

> "and so Rodry ap Gryffyth had a son whiche son was calyd Thomas ap Rodry whiche Thomas had a son caled Owen

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awgo3 and died in Fraunce w't'out issew, whiche Owen
lawgo3 had two susturs be on [by one] fathur and mothur,
whith'r [whether] they have issew or not is unknowen."

not a vague and obscure bardic allusion, but a cate-
statement of what the writer believed to be fact.
not matter that he is wrong in some of his state-
such as that David ap Gruffudd died without
The point of importance is that he correctly states
ligree of Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri—a pedigree
Ir. Williams accepts, with the additional admission
)wen ap Thomas ap Rhodri is the same as Owen de
—and that to Owen's name he appends the cognomen
awgoch" in the circumstantial and matter of fact
ner of one who is recording an appellative that is
ectly well known.[1]

The above entry, if it does not completely satisfy Mr.
lliams, at least vindicates my suggestion that the
ogate" of the Cheshire genealogist was intended to
present the Welsh "Lawgoch", and shows that that
ssumption was not "purely gratuitous and arbitrary".

I leave the fresh development of the problem to the consideration of Mr. Williams, feeling sure that if the result of his cogitations is to alter the conclusions which he at present entertains, he will acknowledge it with the candour and courtesy that characterise his attack.

EDWARD OWEN.

[1] In striking accord with the genealogist of Hengwrt 351, is this writer's statement that Owen had a sister or sisters. Women were not regarded as of much account genealogically in the middle ages, unless they were heiresses, and I am afraid it is vain to hope for more light upon this subject.

GEO. SIMPSON, PRINTER, DEVIZES.

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Cymmrodorion Record Series.

FIRST PROSPECTUS.

THE idea of the publication of Welsh Records, which had for some time occupied the thoughts of leading Welsh Scholars, took a definite and practical shape at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod held at Brecon in 1889. In the papers which were read at that meeting it was shown that a vast quantity of material necessary for understanding the history of Wales still remained buried in public and private Libraries, and also that such of the Welsh Chronicles as had been given to the world had been edited in a manner which had not fulfilled the requirements of modern scholarship.

As it appeared that the Government declined to undertake any further publication of purely Welsh Records, it was suggested by Sir John Williams that the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society should take the work in hand, and establish a separate fund for that purpose.

The Council are of opinion that a work of this magnitude cannot be left to private enterprise, although they thankfully acknowledge the indebtedness of all Welshmen to such men as Mr. G. T. Clark of Talygarn, the Rev. Canon Silvan Evans, Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, Mr. Owen Edwards, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, and Professor John Rhys, and they fully appreciate the valuable work done by members of the various Antiquarian Societies.

Private enterprise has enabled the Council to issue, without cost to the Society, the first number of the Series which they have undertaken. The edition of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, two parts of which have already been issued), is the result to Mr. Henry Owen—a member of the Society's Council—of long and arduous labour, and of an expenditure of a sum of money which would enable any patriotic Welshman who follows that example to present similar numbers of the proposed Series to his countrymen.

The second number of the Series consists of Records from the Ruthin Court Rolls (A.D. 1294-5), edited by Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of the Public Record Office. *A Catalogue of the Welsh Manuscripts in the British Museum*; a transcript of *The Black Book of St. David's*, and new editions of *Nennius* and *Gildas* are in course of preparation.

In the future numbers of the Series will be published, from public or private MSS., with Introductions and Notes by competent scholars, such Records as will throw light on some period of Welsh History. These publications will, the Council trust, go far to remove from the Principality the dishonour of being the only nation in Europe which is without anything approaching to a scientific history.

It is hoped to issue annually one number of the Series. The cost of each number will, it is anticipated, be about £250. To ensure a continuity of publication, it is necessary to form a Permanent Capital Fund, and this the Society of Cymmrodorion have resolved to do. This Fund, of which Sir John Williams, Bart., Sir W. Thomas Lewis, Bart., and Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A., are the Trustees, will be under the control of the Council, but will be kept separate from the general fund of the Society. It will be applicable solely to the purposes herein designated, and an account of receipts and payments will be submitted to each contributor.

Towards the expenses of publication the Council have found themselves in a position to set aside, from time to time, from the Society's General Fund the sum of £150, a contribution which they trust a large accession of members to the ranks of the Society will speedily enable them to augment.

The Council confidently appeal to all Welshmen for sympathy and help in this really national enterprise. Welshmen are proverbially proud of the antiquities of their land. To place the record of these antiquities within the reach of every Welsh student in an accurate and intelligible form, and to enable him to understand the growth of the national and individual life, is a work which should unite all Welshmen for the benefit of their countrymen, and for the honour of Wales.

BUTE, *President.*
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

CYMMRODORION LIBRARY,
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***** Cheques may be sent to E. VINCENT EVANS, Secretary to the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 64, Chancery Lane, W.C., crossed "London Joint Stock Bank, Limited, to the credit of the Cymmrodorion Record Series Fund."**

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Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF

Literature, Science, and Art as connected with Wales.

FOUNDED 1751. REVIVED 1873.

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The Transactions

of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1901-02.

LONDON:
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.
1903.

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THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION, originally founded under Royal patronage in 1751, was revived in 1873, with the object of bringing into closer contact Welshmen, particularly those resident out of Wales, who are anxious to advance the welfare of their country; and of enabling them to unite their efforts for that purpose. Its especial aims are the improvement of Education, and the promotion of intellectual culture by the encouragement of Literature, Science, and Art, as connected with Wales.

Subscription to the Society, entitling to copies of all its publications, and admission to all meetings:—One Guinea per annum.

Application for membership should be addressed to the Secretary, E. Vincent Evans, New Stone Buildings, 64, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

Y Cymmrodor, Vols. ii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii. New Series, Vols. xiii, xiv and xv. 10*s.* 6*d.* per volume. [Vols. i and iii are out of print.]

The History of the Cymmrodorion. Out of print.

A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe, by Wyllyam Salesbury (1547). Facsimile, black letter. 4 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

The Gododin of Aneurin Gwawdrydd, by Thomas Stephens, Author of *The Literature of the Kymry.* 6 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

An Essay on Pennillion Singing (Hanes ac Henafiaeth Canu Gyda'r Tannau), by J. Jones (*Idris Vychan*). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Ystorya de Carolo Magno (from the "Red Book of Hergest"). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Athravaeth Gristnogavl (from the unique copy belonging to the late Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, originally printed at Milan, A.D. 1568). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Blessednes of Brytaine, by Maurice Kyffin (1587). 1 part, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Gerald the Welshman, by Henry Owen, D.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Demy 8vo., vellum cloth, gilt, 10*s.*

Gweithiau Iolo Goch: Gyda Nodiadau Hanesyddol a Beirniadol, gan Charles Ashton. **The Works of Iolo Goch.** Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion for 1892-93, 1893-94, 1894-95, 1895-96, 1896-97, 1897-98, 1898-99, 1899-1900, 1900-01, 1901-02.

IN THE CYMMRODORION RECORD SERIES.

The Description of Pembrokeshire, by George Owen of Henllys. Edited by Henry Owen, D.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Being No. 1 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* 2 parts, 21*s.*

The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin or Dyffryn-Clwyd, of the Reign of King Edward the First, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited, with Translations, Notes, etc., by R. Arthur Roberts, of H.M. Public Record Office. Being No. 2 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

Gildae de Excidio Britanniae, Liber de Paenitentia, accedit et Lorica Gildae. (Gildas: the Ruin of Britain, Fragments from Lost Letters, the Penitential, together with the Lorica of Gildas.) Parts I and II. Edited by Hugh Williams, M.A., Professor of Church History at the Theological College, Bala. Being No. 3 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* In Three Parts. Price 21*s.* to Members of the Society, 10*s.* 6*d.*

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum. Part I. Compiled and Edited by Edward Owen, of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. Being No. 4 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

The Black Book of St. David's. An extent of all the Lands and Rents of the Lord Bishop of St. David's, made by Master David Fraunceys, Chancellor of St. David's in the time of the Venerable Father the Lord David Martyn, by the grace of God Bishop of the place, in the year of our Lord 1326. Edited by J. W. Willis-Bund. Being No. 5 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*; to Members of the Society 10*s.* 6*d.*

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THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE HONOURABLE

SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

SESSION 1901–1902.

LONDON:

ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,

NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.

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REPORT

OF

THE COUNCIL OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the Year ending November 9th, 1902.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT THE SOCIETY'S ROOMS, ON THURSDAY, THE 20TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1902.

THE Council, in presenting their Report for the past year, have to notify the election of thirty-one new members. They regret to have to announce the loss through death of many old and valued supporters, among whom they would mention the late Mr. J. Lloyd Griffith, of Holyhead, the Treasurer of the Cambrian Archæological Association; Mr. Edward A. Hughes, of Clement's Inn, one of the earliest members of the Society; Mr. Lascelles Carr, a well-known Welsh journalist; Mr. T. Hamer Jones, the compiler of a useful bibliography of Welsh music; and Mr. Thomas Lloyd, of Oxford Street. In filling these and other losses in the ranks of the Society, the Council would appeal for more active co-operation on the part of members generally.

During the past year the following meetings were held in London :—

1901.

November 14.—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS.

December 3.—ANNUAL DINNER; President, The Right Hon. Lord Tredegar.

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1902.

February 26.—Paper on "The Re-naming of Welshmen," by T. E. Morris, Esq., Ll.M. Chairman, J. Eldon Bankes, Esq., K.C.

April 11.—Paper on "The Romance of Welsh Education," by T. Marchant Williams, Esq., Stipendiary Magistrate, Merthyr Tydfil. Chairman, Sir George Kekewich, K.C.B., D.C.L., Secretary to the Board of Education.

May 28.—Paper on "Welsh Catholics on the Continent," by W. Llewelyn Williams, Esq., B.C.L. Oxon. Chairman, Sir John Williams, Bart.

July 22.—Annual Conversazione (held by kind permission of the Master and Wardens) at Skinners' Hall, Dowgate Hill, and Reception by the President.

In Bangor, in connection with the Cymmrodorion Section of the Eisteddfod :—

Meetings were held on Monday, September 8th, 1902, in the University College Buildings, when papers on "National Health and Sanitation," were read by P. Fraser, Esq., M.D., Medical Officer of Health for the Carnarvonshire United Districts; Richard Jones, Esq., M.D., Medical Officer of Health for the County of Merioneth; Dan. L. Thomas, Esq., M.D., Medical Officer of Health for the Borough of Stepney. President, Henry Lewis, Esq., Mayor of Bangor.

And on Wednesday, September 10th, 1902, a joint meeting with the Welsh Language Society was held in the Magistrates' Court, when papers on "The best methods of Promoting Welsh Historical Research," by Hubert Hall, Esq., F.S.A., Director and Hon. Secretary of the Royal Historical Society; and Edward Owen, Esq., of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, were read. President, John Edward Lloyd, Esq., M.A., Professor of History at the University College of North Wales.

At the latter meeting, after hearing Mr. Edward Owen's paper on "Welsh Historical Records", it was, on the proposal of Sir Isambard Owen, seconded by the Very Rev. the Dean of Bangor, unanimously resolved :—

> "That in the opinion of this meeting it is of the utmost importance that the special classes of the Records in the Public Record Office, known as *Welsh Records*, should be

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> catalogued by a competent Welsh scholar, and that Funds for this purpose should be specially provided by the Treasury."

This Resolution has been formally notified to the First Lord of the Treasury, but it may be a matter for consideration by the Society, whether it should not in the next Session of Parliament be further pressed and supported by a deputation to the Prime Minister.

The Council have pleasure in recording the exceptional success of the meeting of the Eisteddfod Section held at Bangor this year, and tender their thanks to the Mayor, Professor J. E. Lloyd, Professor W. Lewis Jones, Mr. Arthur Ivor Pryce, and others, who assisted in bringing the meetings to a successful issue.

During the year the following publications have been issued to the members :—

Y Cymmrodor, Vol. xv, containing "Lewis Morris in Cardiganshire," by D. Lleufer Thomas. "Saint Carranog," by the Rev. S. Baring Gould, M.A. "Old County Families of Dyfed. (1) The Wogans of Boulston" (with Illustrations and Pedigree), by Francis Green; and Reviews of Owen M. Edwards's "Wales," by W. Llewelyn Williams, B.C.L. Oxon.; Arthur G. Bradley's "Owen Glyndwr, and the Struggle for Welsh Independence," by T. Stanley Roberts, M.A.; J. Loth's "La Metrique Galloise," and Charles Roëssler's "Les Influences Celtiques," by H. Elvet Lewis.

The Transactions for the Session 1900-01, containing "Art and Handicraft in Wales: some Criticisms and Suggestions," by W. Goscombe John, A.R.A. "Some Dialectal Boundaries in Mid-Wales, with Notes on the History of the Palatalization of Long *A*," by Thomas Darlington, M.A. "The Diplomatics of Welsh Records," with Appendices, (1) Repositories for Welsh Records, (2) A Classification of Welsh Records, according to their Repositories, (3) The Welsh Records Classified Diplomatically, by Hubert Hall, F.S.A., Director of the Royal Historical Society. "Archbishop Peckham, with Appendix containing an Extract from the Records of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury," by J. W. Willis

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Bund, F.S.A. Correspondence relating to "Owen Lawgoch," by W. Llewelyn Williams, B.C.L., and Edward Owen; and the Report of the Council and Statement of Receipts and Payments for 1900-1.

"*The Black Book of St. David's.* An Extent of all the Lands and Rents of the Lord Bishop of St. David's, made by Master David Fraunceys, Chancellor of St. David's in the time of the Venerable Father the Lord David Martyn, by the Grace of God Bishop of the Place, in the year of our Lord 1326." [From the British Museum *Additional MSS.*, No. 34,125.] Edited by J. W. Willis-Bund, F.S.A.

The Black Book of St. David's, which forms No. 5 of the Cymmrodorion Record Series, is a most valuable mine of material for the history of South Wales during the first half of the 14th century. It gives the names of all the Tenants of the Episcopal lands belonging to St. David's, the amount of rent each paid, the services and customs in each place, and their value. As the Estates of the See of St. David's extended into each of the modern counties of South Wales the book gives a picture of the state of things that existed in the different districts, and shows the extent to which Welsh Law and Custom remained unaffected by the English invasion. It also shows the means that were taken to establish and incorporate the English land laws in Wales.

As one of the early medieval documents showing the extent of the Episcopal Estates of St. David's, it has a great value for the modern student of the history of Manorial Law and Custom in the Principality, and by its aid a good deal of the history of the manors now held by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners can be traced.

As a record of the Place-names of the different localities it is of very great importance, and it also throws some light on the Welsh personal names of the time. It has also a very important bearing on the status and condition of the people, particularly of the Clergy, in the 14th century.

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In the Press, and nearly ready for issue, the Society have—

Part ii of the *Catalogue of MSS. relating to Wales in the British Museum*, dealing with the Harleian Collection, and containing many important volumes of pedigrees and historical collections, especially those of Hugh Thomas, the Brecknockshire antiquary.

Part iii of the *Catalogue*, which will be taken in hand as soon as the second part is issued, will deal with the MSS. relating to Wales in the Stowe and Sloane Collections, and the charters and other documents in the Harley and Egerton Series.

Professor Hugh Williams is engaged on the third part of his edition of *Gildas*, which the Council trust may be completed next year.

The *Transactions* for the year now closing are well in hand. The volume contains the papers read during the last Session by Mr. T. E. Morris, Mr. T. Marchant Williams, and Mr. W. Llewelyn Williams. In connection with Mr. Llewelyn Williams' paper on "Welsh Catholics on the Continent", the Council are gratified in being able to announce that the Marquess of Salisbury has very kindly consented to the reproduction in *facsimile*, for the purposes of this article, of an autograph letter in Welsh by Dr. Morris Clynock, written in 1567 to Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth. The letter, which is curious as being the only one in the Welsh language in the Hatfield collection, is of historical importance, because of the light it throws upon the excommunication of Elizabeth by the Pope.

The article will also be illustrated by a *facsimile* letter from John Roberts, of Trawsfynydd, the Benedictine martyr, who was hanged at Tyburn in 1610, and of the only known specimen of the handwriting of Dr. Gruffydd

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Roberts, the author of the *Drych Cristnogawl*, published at Milan in 1565.

It is hoped that the publication of these *facsimiles* may lead to the discovery of other MSS. in the same caligraphies. Dr. Gruffydd Roberts is known to have been a voluminous writer, and it seems incredible that no other specimen of his handwriting is in existence.

Y Cymmrodor, Vol. XVI, is also in preparation, and is to contain several Articles and Reviews of special importance.

The arrangements for the coming Session include papers by Mr. Edward Arthur Lewis, on "The Decay of Tribalism in North Wales"; by the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis, on the "Welsh Poetical Metres"; by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., on "Late Celtic Art in Britain"; and by Mr. Isaac Foulkes on "Welsh Interludes and Twm or Nant". Other arrangements are pending.

The Council desire to record their thanks to Dr. Alfred Daniell for the trouble he has taken in cataloguing the contents of the Society's Library. A list of the Society's books will appear in the *Transactions*, and members are invited to peruse the list, and to make up any deficiencies which it may be within their power to supply.

The thanks of the Society are specially due to the President, Lord Tredegar, for his generous donation of £100 to the Cymmrodorion Record Series Fund. A donation of £50 has also been made by the Society for the purposes of this Fund; but the Council regret that with these exceptions there has been no substantial response to their appeal for further subscriptions. When it is stated that the mere cost of transcribing, collating, and printing the *Black Book of St. David's* exceeded £400, it will be apparent to everyone that such work cannot be undertaken in future unless the fund is largely augmented.

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The Trustees, Sir John Williams, Bart., Sir W. Thomas Lewis, Bart., and Dr. Henry Owen, F.S.A., and the Secretary, will be glad to receive donations.

The Council acknowledge with particular gratification the presentation to the Society of the copy of

"The Original Constitutions of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion in London, begun in the month of September 1751,"

formerly belonging to Edward Williams, better known as *Iolo Morganwg*, from whom it passed to his son, Taliesin Williams [*Ab Iolo*], and from him to Edward Williams, of Middlesbrough, whose children, Messrs. Illtyd, Penry, and Aneurin Williams, Mrs. John Hedley, and Mrs. J. T. Belk, presented it to the Society.

Under the Society's Rules the term of office of the following Officers expires :—

THE PRESIDENT,
THE VICE-PRESIDENTS,
THE AUDITORS,

and ten members retire in accordance with Rule 4, but are eligible for re-election, viz. :—

MR. STEPHEN EVANS,
DR. ALFRED DANIELL,
MR. J. H. DAVIES,
MR. W. CADWALADR DAVIES,
MR. W. E. DAVIES,
MR. E. VINCENT EVANS,
MR. WILLIAM EVANS,
MR. ELLIS J. GRIFFITH, M.P.,
MR. W. TUDOR HOWELL,
MR. T. H. W. IDRIS.

The Audited Statement of Receipts and Payments for the financial year will be found appended to this Report.

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THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

Statement of Receipts and Payments.

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1901, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1902.

Cr.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1901 ..	67	5	2
„ Subscriptions received	407	5	10
„ Sale of Publications	12	17	9
	£487	8	9

Dr.

	£	s.	d.
By Rent of Offices, Fire, and Lighting ..	72	6	2
„ Publications: Cost of Printing and Distributing, Viz.:—*Transactions*, 1900-1901 ..	54	12	9
Y Cymmrodor, Vol. XV.	79	5	3
„ Donation to Cymmrodorion Record Series Fund	50	0	0
„ General Printing	24	15	0
„ Eisteddfod Section Expenses	13	6	3
„ Lectures, Meetings, and Conversazione	32	4	0
„ Library Expenses		12	9
„ Stationery, Postage, and General Expenses	32	14	6
„ Commission on Publications Sold and Subscriptions Collected	17	2	0
„ Secretary's Remuneration	50	0	0
„ Balance in hand	60	10	1
	£487	8	9

Examined and found correct,

JOHN BURRELL, } *Joint*
ELLIS W. DAVIES, } *Hon. Auditors.*

H. LLOYD ROBERTS, *Treasurer.*
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1901-1902.

THE RE-NAMING OF WELSHMEN.[1]

By T. E. MORRIS, LL.M., B.A.

"The Re-naming of Welshmen" may possibly be regarded, by some, as a somewhat ambitious title to choose for a paper advocating a thorough and much-needed reform in our present system of Welsh family names or surnames, but if the title selected appears to sound a little too comprehensive, or seems to savour of the spirit of prophecy, it will, at any rate, be conceded that it is both forcible and expressive.

Having thus commenced this paper in an apologetic strain, let me at once boldly assert, that the consideration of Surnames is, in every way, an appropriate and, indeed, a mandatory subject for discussion before the Cymmrodorion Society. I find by the Constitutions of the Society, as originally settled in 1775, that among the "General Heads of subjects to be occasionally considered" and dealt

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, 26 February 1902. Chairman, J. Eldon Bankes, Esq., K.C.

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with at the meetings of the Society, are the following two subjects. The first, which comes under the heading of "Antiquities", and is numbered 16, reads thus:—

> "The true Orthography of ancient Names of Men and Places, the best Proof of them from the Poets; and of mistaken Translations of Names, as *Merlin* for *Merddin*, &c., which have occasion'd the wild Guesses of Etymologists."

And the second, coming under the head of "The present Customs and Manners of the Welsh", and numbered 2, is thus expressed:—

> "Surnames in Wales of what Standing; and of the Ancient Method of Pedigrees like the *Eastern* Nations."

Any reader of Article II of the "Morrisian Miscellany", which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1791 (pp. 629-632) will at once be convinced that Lewis Morris, the well-known ancestor of Sir Lewis Morris, was responsible for the insertion of these two subjects in the "Constitutions". He treats in the article referred to, "of the necessity of having the true and real names of persons and places recorded in History"; if otherwise, he adds, "the Story is false", and he severely criticises such errors as are to be found in the works of "Bede, Matthew Paris, Mathew of Westminster, William of Newbury, and all the Saxon and English authors that succeeded them", when "they have touched on the British names of men and places". He repudiates the idea that "people's names shewed their qualities and offices" as Camden supposed, for if it were so, then, he facetiously declares, that every "Mr. John *King* should wear a crown; every one of the name of *Armstrong* should be strong, and Mr. *Button* should be a very little round man."

Furthermore, the Cymmrodorion Society has among its especial aims, "the promotion of intellectual culture by the encouragement of Literature, Science and Art, as

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connected with Wales." Now, I claim that Welsh surnames have, at least, a scientific and historical value, and I plead for the infusion of a deeper artistic sense into the names by which we Welshmen, are, or may be, known, and the cultivation of a wider artistic taste in their selection and adoption. Our surnames, beside being very limited in number, as will be presently shown, are extremely dull, well-nigh meaningless and uncommonly commonplace. A combination of Norman and Biblical names, or *vice versâ*, such as *William Davies*, *John Roberts*, or *Sarah Lewis*, may be all very well, but surely any patriotic Welshman or Welshwoman who could shake off family prejudice or bias, would prefer to be called by names which, though equally simple in form, would nevertheless be more expressive and artistic in character, and withal truly Celtic, such as *Llewelyn Dedwith*, *Madoc Kyffin* or *Gladys Lloyd*. We can certainly speak of the Art of Nomenclature or of Name-giving, and of the Science of Onomatology or of Names. The art of choosing such names as shall be pleasing to the ear, appropriate to the persons to be called, and distinctive in character, may well be called the Art of Name-giving, and the application of the laws of euphony and the study of the orthography and etymology of Christian and family names can accurately be described as the Science of Names. The excellent and learned notes and papers contributed, from time to time, to the *Cymmrodor* by such eminent scholars as Professor Rhys (Principal of Jesus College, Oxford), Mr. Egerton Phillimore and Professor J. E. Lloyd, bear testimony to the fact that the Cymmrodorion Society has faithfully done its part in the past to carry out some of Lewis Morris's suggestions. It is, therefore, with a considerable amount of diffidence that I am about to endeavour to deal with an aspect of the subject which has hitherto, I believe,

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been but lightly touched upon at meetings of this Society. This aspect of the subject, however, does not call so much for the erudition of a scholar, as it does for the every-day observation of any ordinary individual interested in Welsh social life and customs; and this must be my excuse for addressing you on this subject.

I do not propose in this paper to discuss the various methods of Name-giving which have been adopted by the Welsh people from age to age, nor to trace the origin and fathom the meanings of any Welsh surnames, nor to enter into the consideration of Welsh pedigrees, and thus get hopelessly involved in the difficulties and intricacies with which they abound. My purpose in this paper is to call your serious attention to the almost endless confusion and intolerable inconvenience arising from the fact that the surnames of the great mass of Welshmen are no longer distinctive, and to suggest certain remedies whereby we may be rid of this unfortunate and deplorable state of affairs.

It is a matter of common knowledge that, practically speaking, there is but one class of family names in use among Welshmen, namely, that class of surnames derived from Christian or baptismal names, generally called patronymics. The number of Welsh surnames derived from place-names, such as *Carreg, Glynne, Lougher, Mostyn, Nanney, Trevor*, etc., is very limited, whilst those which were originally descriptive in character, such as *Anwyl, Dew, Gwynn, Lloyd, Sayce, Vane*, etc., are equally scarce. The bulk of the Welsh people bear patronymical names, the great majority of which are Norman or Biblical, rather than Welsh, in origin. This fact is easily accounted for. Permanent surnames were unknown in Wales, except among the gentry and in the English-speaking districts, until within four, three, or two generations ago, or even

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later. Welshmen were generally described in the early part of the eighteenth century by their Christian name, followed by the word *ap* (meaning "the son of") and their father's Christian name, *e.g.*, *Howell ap David*. By the end of that century, however, it became the fashion, whilst omitting the *ap*, to assume its presence, and to form the full name as before, although sometimes the grandfather's name was added to the baptismal name of the son, instead of the paternal name. The family name thus changed with each succeeding generation, until the English method of permanent surnames was adopted, with the natural result that the patronymical name, often softened or Anglicised by the addition of *s*, became the stationary surname.

Welshmen bore Welsh names prior to the merging of the Principality in the English Crown, but, afterwards, the good old Cymric names, many of which survive to-day in our distinctive and beautiful place-names, gave way to names introduced by the Normans. These names again were considerably supplemented, during the latter half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the last century, by Biblical names, the outcome of the Methodist and other Revivals and a visible mark of the supremacy of Nonconformity.

The number of Norman surnames at present in vogue in Wales cannot be more than about one hundred and twenty, but comparatively few of these are in common use. The number of Biblical family names, found in the Principality and in popular use, is even smaller, although the full number of Scriptural names exceeds sixty, and may not fall far short of a hundred. The total number of surnames in use in Wales, even including English surnames, is small and ridiculously out of proportion to the population as compared with other countries. Complaints

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are made in certain districts in Ireland of the paucity of surnames and of the number of persons bearing the same surnames; but Ireland's grievances in this matter sink into insignificance as compared with those of Wales. According to an extremely interesting report issued last year (1901) by the Registrar-General of Ireland, Mr. Robert E. Matheson, there are about two thousand one hundred surnames in Ireland, apart from their numerous variations. Our popular surnames are not more than twenty-five to forty in number, while all our family names can hardly exceed five to six hundred. This is a most unsatisfactory state of things. The poverty of Welsh surnames is one of the most insufferable nuisances which a Welshman has, so far, to contend with, inasmuch as he is born to inherit a name which does not differentiate him from the other thousands who have the same cognomen.

The Registrar-General of Scotland, in his Sixth Report, asserts that in Scotland "surnames taken from the locality in which the persons resided form a very numerous class . . . . and there is scarcely a county, parish, town, river or remarkable locality, but has its name perpetuated in the surnames". Well might the editor of a Welsh newspaper remark that "we have plenty of fine names in Welsh, but unfortunately the best names are given to places and not to men and women"! The same Scotch authority states that "almost all the names of our Bards and Highland clans are surnames derived from patronymics . . . . and are peculiarly Scottish, neither belonging to England nor to Ireland. These surnames include all those beginning with Mac, as Macgregor, Mactaggart, etc., beside those simple ones, as Fraser, Douglas, Cameron, Kerr, etc." Happy Scotland! We, in Wales, have so far, roughly speaking, been content with those simple and stereotyped patronymics, which are far from being Welsh

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in origin and character, and there has been no serious effort on our part, in these latter days, to adopt our beautiful ancient place-names as surnames. We have, in fact, reached that point in the development of Welsh surnames, when necessity almost imperatively demands that there must be some sweeping reform, which cannot be long delayed. In the transactions and business of every-day life, the multiplicity of *Joneses*, *Williamses*, *Robertses*, *Davieses*, *Evanses*, *Thomases*, etc., has become so exasperating as to tax the patience of even the best-tempered Welshman among us. This plague of names should no longer be the subject of merriment, but rather that of serious reflection and consideration; and we might very well initiate a drastic change or recommend a radical reform in our system of nomenclature.

The re-naming of Welshmen has become a matter of supreme importance and of increasing urgency. I am sure every member of the Cymmrodorion Society can recall, in his own personal experience, a number of instances when ridiculous mistakes or humiliating misunderstandings arose from the plethora of similar names borne by our fellow-countrymen in every town and district in Wales. It is impossible to estimate the inconvenience, the annoyance, and even the suffering, occasioned by this unnecessary dearth of Welsh surnames, and the continued multiplication of the comparatively few in popular use. Indeed, our surnames are so few in number that they almost swamp the population of England in the statistics compiled to show which are the most numerous family names in use among us. We find, from the last report of the Registrar-General of England and Wales bearing on surnames, that although the world-renowned "Smith" heads the list, as the most common name in England and Wales, and thus takes the palm, it is nevertheless closely followed

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by our own fascinating surname *Jones*, and then by Williams, Taylor, Davies, Brown, Thomas, Evans and Roberts, in the order given. It will thus be seen that out of the nine most numerous surnames in England and Wales, no less than six in chief belong to the Principality.

The names of *Jones, Williams, Davies, Thomas*, etc., still increase and multiply like the stars in the firmament, and with this constant duplication and multiplication, is it a matter of surprise that distinction becomes advantageous? The real utility of names in Wales has been all but lost, for they are no longer distinctive. Any one conversant with "the land of our fathers" knows that in ordinary conversation a person is always referred to by his full name, and even in that case, it is invariably the practice to add his trade or profession, or the name of his home, or some descriptive epithet or nickname. We speak of *John Owen, Ty mawr*; or *Robert Jones, the butcher*; or *Captain Roberts, "The Pride of Wales"*; or *Edward Davies, "trwyn smwt"*. The existence of this difficulty has, unfortunately, led to the somewhat general adoption of double surnames in Wales, formed generally by connecting the mother's maiden name with the paternal surname. It is hoped that this "double-barrel" device will not be further encouraged, otherwise in another generation we shall have triple surnames and what not.

The creation of double names may or may not be desirable, but we find that the paucity of surnames and the frequence of similar names, leads to the wholesale creation of nicknames and aliases among our colliers, our quarrymen, our miners, our agricultural labourers, and among our workmen generally, not to mention our schoolboys, and students at our colleges. That is not all; for while these nicknames have the merit of distinction and origi-

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nality (without necessarily making those who receive them distinguished), experience proves that, unfortunately, they produce unkind feelings, kindle strife, and foster "hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness". A sidelight was, as it were, thrown on this point at the Carnarvon Assizes held last January (1902), when some quarrymen from Bethesda were put on their trial. One of the witnesses, a quarryman bearing a common name, when asked in cross-examination whether he was generally known by a certain nickname, gave vent to his feelings in unmistakable language. The quarryman in question was not a witness on the popular side, but it was obvious that his retort won the sympathy and appreciation of the crowd in Court. It will thus be understood that there are even moral reasons for advocating a thorough reform in our present patronymical, and, shall I add, inimical, surnames.

I have, so far, spoken generally about the monotonous frequency of our popular surnames and the perplexities resulting from it, but the case for re-naming Welshmen cannot be allowed to rest on any such general statements. Let us get closer to the subject and call for such proof as is at hand to support these statements. We can, of course, never gauge the extent to which our common names and surnames militate in business against the success of those who bear them, nor can we cite statistics to prove how many Welshmen have changed their names, either slightly or completely, for social considerations; for instance, to avoid inconvenience and to secure distinctive names. How many scores of young Welshmen on leaving Wales and entering large shops, warehouses, and business houses in the Metropolis, or in our great cities of Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, etc., have been obliged to change or modify their names to avoid being mistaken for their fellow countrymen who had preceded them? The dis-

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tinctive words tacked on to the young man's almost purposeless names by his neighbours when home in Wales, were no longer *apropos*, and some sort of change had to be made to meet the new situation. It would be apparent that *Thomas Jones, Ty newydd*, could not apply in London, and accordingly the mother's maiden name would probably be substituted, and our *Ty newydd* friend would henceforward be known as *T. Jenkin Jones.*

A perusal of our local directories, of our parish registers, of our lists of voters, and of our Welsh pedigrees, is enough to convince any ordinary mortal that a revolution is needed in our present system of surnames. Let us, however, partially discard localities, and cite instances of a general character, to see how simple, how indefinite, and how vexatious our Welsh names are. I commence with the names of our ministers. Imagine a Church Congress with all our Welsh Clergy present, including those of presumably Welsh descent in England and elsewhere. We would find in this vast assembly the following number of clergymen bearing the following simple names:—

15 *David Davies,*	20 *John Jones,*
12 *Evan Davies,*	4 *John David Jones,*
13 *Thomas Davies,*	13 *Richard Jones,*
10 *John Evans,*	22 *Thomas Jones,*
3 *John Henry Evans,*	17 *William Jones,*
5 *John Owen Evans,*	12 *John Morgan,*
17 *David Jones,*	21 *John Williams,*
10 *James Jones,*	13 *William Williams,*

besides an astonishing number of clergy called *John Davies, William Davies, David Evans, William Evans, James Jones, Robert Jones, John Owen, John Morris, David Richards, David Williams, Thomas Williams*, etc. Three of our Welsh Nonconformist denominations have likewise an incredibly large number of ministers and preachers bearing the same

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names. The Baptists have ten *David Davieses* in Wales and Monmouthshire, the Congregationalists have ten *John Davieses*, and the Calvinistic Methodists have eleven *John Joneses* and twelve *William Joneses*. The Welsh Wesleyan Methodists have scarcely any ministers bearing precisely the same names, although the proportion of their ministers and local preachers, bearing common or popular surnames, is not a whit the less than those of other Welsh denominations.

There are very few Welsh lawyers bearing identical names, and while the great majority of them are, naturally, called by Welsh surnames, it will be found that they also, naturally, take good care that their surnames should be distinctive. Both barristers-at-law and solicitors appear to favour double names. Welsh doctors have also a leaning in this direction, but a large number wear similar names, whilst simple names do not appear to be uncommon among our Welsh medical fraternity. Such names as *John Davies*, *John Evans*, *John Jones*, *William Thomas*, *John Roberts*, and *John Williams* flourish in the Medical Directory.

The similarity of names, and the sameness of our surnames, must be embarrassing to our county and local Councillors, and are not unfelt in the House of Commons. Four of our Welsh Members of Parliament bear the surname *Thomas*, and while all share a common initial, two have no other. This, as might be expected, causes confusion and mistakes, for the reporters in the Gallery can hardly be expected to know each Member's Christian name. There are three *David Davieses*, two *Thomas Joneses*, and two *John L. Thomases* on the Carmarthenshire County Council, and similar instances of like names are to be found in almost every County Council in Wales. The same duplication or similarity of names occurs among our

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Magistracy, and this is especially the case in Glamorganshire, where twenty-one Justices of the Peace share ten names between them.

If among the bodies referred to, there are so many members bearing precisely the same names, what hopeless and endless confusion must arise when those who only bear the same surnames are considered? What tales of infinite trouble and everlasting worry our Post Office officials in Wales could tell! How often have our local Postmasters to implore persons of the same name, or of the same surname and like initials, in the postal districts, to come to some amicable arrangement as to the delivery of their letters and telegrams!

Some of us know to our cost that the surname difficulty is continually accentuated in Official Inquiries held in Wales and in our Law Courts. Take the Welsh Land Commission as an instance of such an Inquiry. It was often well-nigh impossible to differentiate the witnesses by their names. In many instances reference had to be made to the evidence given by a particular farmer, or to some personal trait or characteristic, before his identity could be established. His name was useless, and although familiarly known to his neighbours by his name linked to that of his farm or holding, it was no easy task for the Commissioners and those officially connected with the Commission, who were strangers, to associate a particular farm with a particular name. Let me refer to the Commission's visit to Cardiganshire to exemplify this point. Out of the one hundred and thirty-four witnesses who gave evidence in that county, one hundred and nine shared fourteen common Welsh surnames between them, and of these one hundred and nine, sixty-five bore the name *Jones*, *Evans* and *Davies* in the proportion of twenty-two, twenty-two, and twenty-one respectively. Seven of them

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were called *David Jones*, five bore the names of *John Davies* and *John Evans* respectively, three the respective names of *David Evans*, *Evan Evans*, and *David Lloyd*, and there were several pairs known by the same names.

The multiplicity of names and surnames in the instance given was bad enough, but the Counsel engaged in an Inquiry, held at Westminster in January 1899, before Mr. Campion, the Examiner of Standing Orders in the House of Commons, must have been at their wits end when they came to comment on the evidence of the sixteen *John Joneses*, of Breconshire, who had appeared before them. It must have been most perplexing to fix the identity of each *John Jones* clearly in the mind, and to avoid confusing the evidence of the one with that of the other, and to reflect this clear impression in the Examiner's mind. The London County Council failed to get their Water Bill through Parliament in spite of this strong phalanx of *John Joneses*.

A Carnarvonshire will case, heard in the London Law Courts before Mr. Justice Lopes (the late Lord Ludlow), in July 1894, served as an object lesson in nomenclature to all Welshmen; and no wonder the Press, at the time, emphasised the desirability of a thorough change in Welsh surnames. The number of *Joneses* and *Robertses* called as witnesses, during the two days this action was tried, threw the Judge and Counsel engaged into a state of absolute perplexity, and it appeared as if the Court were, at times, turned into a patronymical Bedlam.

Any number of similar instances of inconvenience and confusion arising in our Law Courts could be given. Time forbids me to examine the jury lists at our Quarter Sessions and Assizes. It invariably happens that among the jurymen summoned are groups of two and three bearing the same names. It is not at all unusual to find two

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such jurymen entering the box, each confident, in his own mind, that he was the person called, and thus increasing the jury, until sworn, to thirteen or fourteen, instead of the proverbial twelve men, "good and true". Sometimes, however, the wrong juryman's progress is arrested on his way to the box, and for the moment, he is in a state of fear and trembling, lest he should be committed for contempt of Court. Hence in our Law Courts, oftentimes, public time is in this way wasted, and innocent feelings disturbed and outraged owing to our troublesome system of nomenclature.

Just three other instances. I find it stated in the *Liverpool Mercury*, in connection with the close of the Liverpool Revision Courts last September (1901), that a large number of the names of voters were duplicated. There were about five hundred *John Joneses* on the lists. It was pointed out how awkward it was, for instance, to say definitely that a certain *John Jones* was or was not the same as the one whose name appeared on the list in regard to property in another part of the city. Having read this statement, I found that four hundred and thirty-one of these *John Joneses* are accounted for in Gore's *Directory of Liverpool* for 1901.

Jones is simply rampant in Wales, but as a surname it is flabby and overgrown. Many other surnames among us deserve the same mild censure. The Corwen Board of Guardians have lately had to tackle *Jones*. The Guardians came to the conclusion that it was not convenient to speak of each other merely as "Mr. Jones", for there were twelve *Joneses* on the Board, and some of them had the same Christian name, in fact, two *David Joneses* came from the same place. Accordingly, it was resolved at a meeting of the Board held last July (1901), that in future the name of each Mr. Jones should have appended to it, in the minutes of the proceedings, the name of his house as

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well as his Christian name and parish, so that every Mr. Jones might know which Mr. Jones was referred to. Here is tragedy and comedy combined!

Jones, it will be remembered, comes next to Smith in numerical strength among the surnames of England and Wales. I wonder what the writer of a somewhat original and humorous article, which appeared in *Pearson's Magazine* for 1897, would have to say to our irresistible surname. The article, in question, was entitled "To all named Smith—Greeting", and was illustrated with elaborate pictoric tables in our modern, up-to-date, magazine style. The author had, in some mysterious way, calculated the daily births, marriages, and deaths of the Smith family in the United Kingdom. He had found that at their present rate of departure from this earth, it would take, so he says, "the existing Smiths of the United Kingdom more than fifty-two years to go to Heaven (since they leave us at the rate of twenty-six per diem), and this," he adds, "without including the time actually spent in crossing the long bridge" (duly illustrated) "between Earth and Heaven". I cannot undertake a similar calculation with regard to *Jones*, but if all our *Joneses* on their path Heavenwards were to bequeath other surnames, distinctive in character, to their offspring, they would earn the gratitude of their descendants, and would thus be assured, beforehand, that their memory would be "blessed".

Our popular Welsh surnames and names, made up of a combination of our popular Christian names, are practically almost valueless, inasmuch as they do not serve to label those who bear them. *Owen William Owen*, of *Bryniau Gerddi*, could hardly blame the editor of a Welsh newspaper for inserting in his paper the interesting fact that a person of that name had appeared before the Carnarvon

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Bench of Magistrates in September 1899. The editor, in reply to an indignant protest which he received, took care to state, in a subsequent issue of his paper, that the person referred to was not his aggrieved correspondent, but another of the same name and living in the same parish! We have seen how common our double simple names, such as *William Roberts*, etc., are, but it would appear that our triple names, such as *John Thomas Jones*, *Morgan John Morgan*, etc., will, in another generation or two, outstrip them in number, unless a change comes soon in our system of name-giving.

Enough instances and examples have been given to prove how utterly confusing and unbearable our surnames are, and what endless inconvenience they cause. The only remedy for this state of things is a simple one, namely, a complete change of surnames and a wider choice of Christian or baptismal names.

Now, the law permits a man to change his surname as often as he likes, provided that it is not done for the purposes of fraud. The name which is assumed in place of the original name, if it be publicly and honestly adopted, so as to become the name of reputation, becomes, by the same process, the legal name. The sole conditions to be fulfilled, in order to satisfy the law, are publicity and good faith in the assumption of the new name, and the absence of any fraudulent purpose.

Although the law on the change of surnames has never been obscured by doubt, the old jurists clung to what was once regarded as an ancient theory of law, that a man could not change his Christian or baptismal name. This old theory has long ago been discarded. We find that Lord Chief Justice Coke had it in mind when he states in his *Institutes* (I Institute, p. 3):—"This doth agree with our ancient books, where it is holden that men may have

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divers names (or surnames) at divers times, but not divers Christian names". Comyn likewise relied on it when he said in his *Digest* ("Abatement", E. 18, E. 19), that "defendant . . . . can have but one name of baptism and ought to sue by his true name . . . . but it is otherwise with respect to his surname".

There are, strictly speaking, only two ways in which surnames can be acquired, namely, by Act of Parliament and by reputation. An Act of Parliament confers the right, but not necessarily the exclusive right, to bear a certain name or surname. Surnames acquired by birth, or assumed either by royal license or by any other act of publicity, are really acquired by reputation. It is absolutely wrong and misleading to say that a person cannot legally adopt a surname, other than his family name, except by Act of Parliament or by royal license. The numerous legal decisions on that clause in the Marriage Act of 1753 (26 Geo. II, c. 33) requiring the banns of marriage to contain the "true Christian and surnames" of the contracting parties, abundantly prove this assertion. Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, declared, as far back as 1735, that he was satisfied that "the usage of passing an Act of Parliament for the taking upon one a surname is but modern, and that anyone" might take such surnames, and as many surnames as he pleased, without an Act of Parliament.

Lord Stowell, in a judgment delivered in 1805 (*Frankland* v. *Nicholson*), said:—

"It has been argued that the true and proper Christian and Surname of the party cannot be altered but by proper authority—by the King's license or an Act of the Legislature; yet there are many cases where names acquired by general use and habit may be taken by repute as the true Christian and Surname of the parties. If a person has acquired a name by repute—the use of the true name in the banns would be an act of concealment that would not satisfy the

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public purposes of the statute; therefore I do say that names so acquired by use and habit might supersede the use of the true name."—*Maule & S.*, 260.

Lord Tenterden's *dictum*, delivered in 1822, in the case of *Luscombe* v. *Yates* is even more emphatic. He said:—

"For a name assumed by the voluntary act of a young man at the outset into life, adopted by all who know him—and by which he is constantly called—becomes, for all purposes that occur to my mind, as much and effectually his name as if he had obtained an Act of Parliament to confer it upon him."

With regard to the Sovereign's license to change a surname, we have Lord Eldon's authority for stating that "the King's license is nothing more than permission *to take the name*, and that it *does not give it*. A name taken that way, he adds, is by voluntary assumption".

Chief Justice Tindal declared in a judgment delivered in 1835 that,

"There is no necessity for any application for a Royal sign-manual to change the name. It is a mode which persons often have recourse to, because it gives a greater sanction to it, and makes it more notorious; but a man may, if he pleases, and it is not for any fraudulent purpose, take a name, and work his way in the new world with his new name as well as he can." (*Davies* v. *Lowndes*, 1 Bingham's *New Cases*, 618.)

It is difficult to understand whether the anonymous and irresponsible writers of a series of extraordinary articles in the *Genealogical Magazine* for the years 1898 to 1900, on "Names and Changes of Names", were aware of the opinions of the learned judges and lawyers which have just been quoted. These writers, whilst quoting freely from the Law Reports when it suits their purpose, contend that "the gift of a name or a change of name is a matter of honour in the prerogative of the Crown, and subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts of Honour", which, by the way, never sit. "It is really", they say, "outside the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals, which

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have no power to adjudicate upon the point. A name assumed without authority is simply an alias" (this phrase is printed in large bold type) "and has precisely the same weight as the grandiloquent names which are assumed for the purpose of the theatre or the haphazard *nom-de-plume* which is adopted by so many writers". Such contentions as these are monstrous, and are not worth the ink with which they are printed. Once an alias or *nom-de-plume* is adopted or acknowledged by any person as his only name, it becomes by reputation his real and legal name. Some of our best-known actors have, in this way, adopted their professional names, and have completely disavowed their original names. The audacious and lengthy articles referred to were completely answered by a correspondent, whose convincing, dignified, and masterly reply, only called forth a curt and abusive rejoinder, the significance of which the readers of the magazine would undoubtedly appreciate.

Time forbids me but to allude to the notorious case of *Mr. William Herbert* of Clytha, a Monmouthshire magistrate, who, with his son, changed their names in February 1862, by deed and by advertisement, from *Jones* to *Herbert*. The Lord Lieutenant, the late Lord Llanover, refused to recognise the change in name, inasmuch as it had not been effected by royal license. A voluminous correspondence ensued between the Lord Lieutenant, the Clerk of the Peace for the county, the Clerk to the Crown, the Home Secretary, the Lord Chancellor, and the parties concerned, which finally culminated in the due recognition, in February 1863, of the surname *Herbert*, which father and son had assumed. The correspondence was printed in a Parliamentary paper, as a result of an animated debate in the House of Commons on the subject on the 17th of March 1863. The Solicitor-General, Sir Roundell Palmer

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(afterwards Lord Selborne), speaking on the change of surnames, said:—

"The fact was, surnames grew up mostly as nicknames . . . . Their very origin showed that there was no positive law on this subject. It was a matter of usage and reputation from the beginning; the name clung to a man, and the law permitted him to shuffle it off if he could. There was no law forbidding a man to change his name, but there was no law which compelled his neighbour to acknowledge him under the name he might assume. It reminded him of the saying of Owen Glendower—

'I can call spirits from the vasty deep';

Hotspur rejoins—

'Why so can I, or so can any man;
But will they come when you do call for them?'

It was exactly the same with these names. Everybody was at liberty, if he pleased, to change his surname, but no one else was obliged to recognise the change unless he pleased. It was said by the Judge who decided one of the cases on the subject, that a man might assume a new name and 'work his way with it in the world as well as he could'. When, however, by usage, a man had acquired a name by reputation, then persons in public authority were practically obliged to acknowledge the new surname."

The usual method of changing the surname is by declaring the fact in a deed, duly enrolled in the Court of Chancery, and by inserting an advertisement to that effect in a newspaper. The law attaches peculiar effect to the solemn and deliberate acts done by deed, and as a deed creates lasting evidence of the fact at the time of the change of surname, it will be seen that its importance is two-fold. Moreover, by its enrollment, the loss of the original document is not rendered irreparable. An advertisement in the newspaper gives the required publicity to the new name. The advertisement, in fact, deals with the present, whilst the deed provides for the future. The cost involved by this method of changing the name makes it prohibitive to working-men and people of limited means. I am, therefore, led to advocate another alternative, which was, I believe, first suggested by the late Judge Falconer,

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a friend of Mr. William Herbert of Clytha. It is, that a short Act of Parliament be passed enabling any person, who desires to change, or has changed, his surname, to register such change on the payment of a small fee of half-a-crown or five shillings in any office where births, marriages, and deaths are now registered. This would be a cheap, effective, and easy method of changing a surname; securing the same advantages as a deed duly enrolled, inasmuch as an authentic and official record of the change would be made at the time, and a certified proof of such change could always be obtained from the District Registrar or the Registrar-General. The time is surely more than ripe for such an Act of Parliament, and any Welsh Member of Parliament who could introduce a short, simple, yet adequate Bill, for the purpose of granting legal facilities for Welshmen to change their names, and secure its inclusion in our Statute Book, would confer an inestimable boon on Wales and Welshmen. I am convinced that an Act of Parliament of this character would create a revolution in our surnames, and would practically result, in a generation or two, in the re-naming of Welshmen.

No one who knows Wales can fail to have observed how the fashion in Christian names has considerably changed during the last twenty-five years, and how there is a parallel, though less effective change, in our family names. A large number of Welsh parents, imbued with patriotic and national ideas, have conferred Welsh names on their children, but the proportion of Welsh Christian names in use in the Principality, as compared with Biblical, Norman, and English baptismal names, is very small. It would be well if Welshmen were to adopt the almost inexhaustible store of fine, descriptive and euphonious names to be found in our place-names and in our ancient pedigrees, records,

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manuscripts and books. I would mention the records of the early British Church, our Welsh poems and the *Mabinogion*, as accessible sources for such names.

It has become the fashion among our bards and preachers of late years to take up double names. They add to their parents' surname an old Welsh personal name or a place-name, such as the name of their home, or of their native parish, or of some hill, or river, in the neighbourhood where they passed their boyhood, or where they then happened to be residing. Indeed, this fashion is not confined to our ministers and poets, for Members of Parliament, lawyers, doctors, musicians, etc., have adopted it. Some of these double names are euphonious, whilst some are cumbrous, incongruous, almost unsavoury and hardly pronounceable. *Uwchllyn Jones, Myfrwydd Morgan, Taihirion Davies, Pumpsaint Jones, Ceinewydd Owen* and *Gwyngyll Hughes* will never do. Looking through a list of from two hundred to three hundred of such names, it passes my comprehension how any sane men could have deliberately selected some of them for themselves. It is not surprising to find that at a meeting, held not very long ago, an English-speaking chairman called on the Rev. T. "Murder" Evans to address the audience. Presumably he meant to say the Rev. T. "Mydir" Evans. The Reverend gentleman's feelings must have received a severe shock, yet we are told that the audience was highly amused with the innocent pronunciation of the amiable chairman.

These double names are, after all, a distinct advance on our simple and indistinct popular surnames. I can only express our earnest hope that this latest development in Welsh surnames is the precursor of a still further change, a change which I venture to anticipate would be welcomed by all good Welshmen, inasmuch as it would not only

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tend to increase the number of our surnames, but, also, render them, as it were, indigenous to the soil. Why not dispense with the present family names and adopt the names by which a good number of these gentlemen are familiarly known? Surely such names as *Bryn, Elvet, Emrys, Ffrangcon, Keri, Myddvai, Towyn,* etc., would form surnames perfectly appropriate and equally euphonious? Were they generally adopted, the inconvenience and mistakes continually arising would be obviated, and Wales would, in time, possess as large a variety of family names as any country of its size and population. A harmonious and fitting name is, after all, a thing of beauty and a joy for ever, at least, while social life lasts, with its necessity for distinguishing one individual from another. By the adoption of such names, we would have in Wales, as in Scotland and Cornwall, local surnames derived from words of British or Celtic origin, for

> "By Tre, Pol and Pen,
> You shall know the Cornishmen."

Single surnames are to be commended rather than double family names, and although we have in the Principality a superfluity of what an eminent Statesmen once called, "double-barrelled nonentities", still these double names serve a useful purpose, and are not, therefore, to be despised. Let us hope that new surnames will not be taken, out of sheer affectation, as in the case of one Robert Williams, a brushmaker, who, at the suggestion of his genteel spouse, embraced the high-sounding and aristocratic name of *Aubrey de Vere,* probably in happy ignorance of the fact that a well-known Irish poet of that name was then living.

From a perusal of Palmer's Index to *The Times* newspaper, I find that a fair number of Welshmen have changed their surnames during the last fifteen years, by

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deed and by advertisement, while two or three assumed names by royal license, in obedience to the wishes of deceased relatives and benefactors. The general tendency appears to be two-fold, to adopt double surnames duly hyphened, especially in the case of the *Davieses, Edwardses, Joneses, Robertses* and *Williamses*, and secondly to adopt such a family name as a refined taste would suggest, and to substitute it for the old surname. Several of the surnames selected are purely Welsh, *e.g., Trevaldwyn, Idris, Meredith, Madoc, Cremlyn, Llwyfo*, etc. Mrs. *Adeline Jones*, by the addition of the mere word "Vere" becomes *Adeline Vere Jones-Vere*, a Mr. *J. W. Jones* discards Jones for *De Grave*, another *Mr. Jones* becomes *Mr. Tudor*, while a *Miss Davies* changes herself to *Miss Spooner*. We have *Mr. Vaughan Pryse* changing his name by royal license in August 1887, to *Rice Vaughan Pryse*, and in the following November, transposing his triple surname to *Pryse Vaughan Rice*, by advertisement, without the usual deed.

One other suggestion I would offer would be the frequent adoption of the prefix *Ap* to our popular or common surnames, as in the case of the *O* of Ireland, the *Mac* of Scotland and the *De* of France. We had the assurance of the Attorney-General for Ireland, in a short speech delivered in 1898 in the House of Commons, on the consideration in Committee of the Irish Surnames Bill, that there was "no principle of common law to prevent a gentleman taking the prefix *O* or *Mac* as frequently as he pleases, and shedding it when he pleases, and taking it up again," and although said in joke, it was meant in earnest. The revival of the *Ap* of Wales would mean the renewal of a characteristic prefix, which would serve to render some of our patronymical surnames distinctive, and possibly endear them to their possessors.

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It is to be sincerely hoped, that the day is not far distant, when the mass of our countrymen will be known by good, sound, distinctive and euphonious surnames, and that these names will, at the same time, reflect not only the poetic and musical charm of the language, which most Welshmen speak, but also the beauty and picturesqueness of the country, which they all love.

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THE ROMANCE OF WELSH EDUCATION.[1]

By T. MARCHANT WILLIAMS.

It is Mr. Fearon, of the Charity Commission, in his admirable address to the students of the Keighley Institute and their parents, on January 28th, 1898, that first drew public attention to the *romance* of Welsh education. His description of the various stages in the development of the system of *Secondary* Education in Wales most assuredly contains the essentials of a romance. It is my purpose this evening to prove to you that a distinctly romantic element pervades the history of the development of *every branch* of the present educational system of the Principality.

The introduction by Sir Robert Peel's Government, in the early part of the year 1843, of a Bill for the Better Education of Children in Factory Districts, excited the utmost indignation among all the Nonconformist bodies of England and Wales, almost without exception. Though the Bill was officially described as a measure that aimed to promote a system of combined education on the basis of religious toleration, it was denounced by Nonconformists as a measure which "involved a flagrant violation of the principles of civil and religious liberty, and which, if passed into law, would have the effect of breaking up the existing (unsectarian) voluntary schools, and of

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Friday, 11th of April, 1902. Chairman, Sir George W. Kekewich, K.C.B., D.C.L., Secretary to the Board of Education.

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placing the education of the working classes under the absolute and exclusive control of the clergy of the Church of England."

It is not necessary for the purposes of this paper to examine the details of this ill-fated measure; the uncompromising opposition offered to it by the Nonconformists (and rightly offered, if I may say so), led to its prompt withdrawal by the Government. Its importance to us Welshmen is due to the fact that it served the excellent purpose of opening the eyes of the Welsh people to the deplorable state of popular education at that time (1843) in the Principality. If the first chapter of the romance of Welsh education begins with the fruitful activities of Griffith Jones, of Llanddowror, and Madame Bevan, and ends with those of Thomas Charles, of Bala, the second chapter covers the period which begins with the year 1843 and ends with the year 1881, when the Departmental Committee made its report. That the principal aim of Sir Robert Peel's Government in introducing the Factory Bill was the improvement of the state of education among the labouring classes is indisputable, and equally indisputable is it that great improvement was most urgently needed. But how was this to be effected? Either wholly by voluntary effort, or by voluntary effort supplemented by Government aid. These were the two alternatives that presented themselves to the Nonconformists, and caused them to become divided into two hostile sections. The pure Voluntaryists (and among them we find in England Messrs. Edward Baines, Edward Miall, John Bright, etc., and in Wales, Henry Richard, Revs. David Charles of Carmarthen, Caleb Morris, David Rhys Stephen, David Rees of Llanelly, Ieuan Gwynedd, etc., held that the school is a religious institution, and forms part of the machinery of a Christian congregation, and that the State, therefore, has

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no more right to interfere in the management of the school than it has to interfere in the management of the Church itself. On the other hand, many Nonconformists, such as Dr. Robert Vaughan in England, and in Wales, Hugh Owen, Revs. Lewis Edwards, of Bala, William Rees, Henry Griffiths, of Brecon, J. Kilsby Jones, and John Phillips, of Bangor, and Mr. William Williams, at that time M.P. for Coventry, held that it is the duty of the Government to promote popular education, and that the acceptance of aid from the Government for the purpose of erecting school buildings, of paying the stipends of teachers, and, speaking generally, of raising the standard of secular instruction, was in no sense inconsistent with the fundamental principles of Dissent. Moreover, it was contended by this latter section of Nonconformists that, without the aid of Government, it would be impossible to establish a system of popular education in the country on a satisfactory basis.

The Rev. David Rees, of Llanelly, the Editor of the *Diwygiwr*, sets forth one view of the question thus:—"I do not hesitate to say that any system of general education under the patronage of the Government is as certain to prove a curse to the country in the future, as the existence of the Church of England is a curse to the country at the present day."

The Rev. Lewis Edwards, Bala, the Editor of the *Traethodydd*, sets forth the opposite view as follows:—"I cannot see that the acceptance of aid from the Government in support of popular education militates in the slightest degree against the principles of Dissent."

This unfortunate division in the ranks of the Welsh Nonconformists proved a serious hindrance to the progress of efficient unsectarian education in South Wales, where the Voluntaryists, whose leading spirit was Henry Richard,

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were very numerous, very active, and very aggressive. In North Wales, however, the Voluntaryists were few in number and had but little influence; in fact, the supporters of the opposite principle, led by Hugh Owen, carried everything before them.

Hugh Owen's memorable letter on the subject of Day Schools, addressed to his fellow-countrymen, bears the date of August 26, 1843. In this letter he unfolded a scheme for the establishment of British Schools in every district of the Principality. He also pressed upon his fellow-countrymen the necessity of securing trained teachers for all such schools, and at the same time drew attention to the Normal School of the British and Foreign School Society at Borough Road, London, into which school, he said, "eligible young men from Wales could obtain free admission, but where", he added, "they would have to remain for *some months* (!) in order to make themselves efficient for their calling."

At this time, though there were in the Principality a considerable number of private adventure schools, and also both National and Church of England schools, there were, in the whole of North Wales, only two British schools. Fifty per cent. of the children of school age went to no day school of any kind; and of the fifty per cent. that *did* go to school, the attendance was most irregular. You will be able to form an opinion of the quality of the teaching in these schools, and also of their general character, from the following extracts from the Reports of the Commissioners who visited and inspected the schools three years later, that is to say, in 1846. It should be understood that at that time the schools were far more numerous than they were in 1843, and that many of them were likewise more efficient, for they had come under the charge of teachers who had had some measure of training.

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Mr. Lingen, now Lord Lingen, whose district of inspection comprised the counties of Glamorgan, Carmarthen and Pembroke, writes these words:—

"I found this office (that of teacher) almost everywhere one of the least esteemed and worst remunerated; one of those vocations which serve as the sinks of all others, and which might be described as guilds of refuge."

The average age of the teachers was upwards of 40 years; that at which they had commenced their vocation upwards of 30 years; only one in eight of the teachers had received training of any kind, or had even visited any other school, for however short a time, to see how it was conducted. The average yearly income of teachers was £22 10*s*.

Mr. Symons, to whom was allotted for inspection the counties of Brecknock, Cardigan, and Radnor, writes as follows:—

"The notion that there is any necessity that a schoolmaster should learn his business is quite in its infancy in Wales. The established belief for centuries (?) has been that it requires no training at all, and that any one who can read and write, if he be disabled from every other pursuit, can be a schoolmaster at pleasure."

"Of 49 schoolmistresses in the district, 7 had been sempstresses, 6 governesses, 1 a dairymaid, 10 milliners, 9 housekeepers, 12 ordinary servants, 2 shopkeepers, and 2 only were originally (*sic*) in schools."

Mr. Johnson, whose district embraced the whole of North Wales, says:—

"Of 625 teachers, 601 are receiving an income less than the wages of the lowest class of skilled mechanics, and 401 teachers are receiving an income lower than the wages of agricultural labourers."

It was in the month of November 1843, that the Rev.

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John Phillips was appointed agent of the British and Foreign School Society for North Wales. Within one year of the date of his appointment he had held 150 public meetings in various parts of his district, and had addressed 60,000 of his fellow-countrymen on the subject of popular education. By the end of three years there were about 5,000 children in attendance at *British* Schools in North Wales.

Throughout this period, and subsequently, Hugh Owen wrote letter after letter to the newspapers and periodicals of Wales in support of the principles of the British and Foreign School Society; and when the Minutes of the Committee of Council of August and December 1846 were published, they proved acceptable to the Wesleyan body, and were hailed with unconcealed satisfaction by Hugh Owen and his friends. He at once translated them into Welsh and published the translations in the principal Welsh periodicals of the time; John Phillips, too, explained them on public platforms to tens of thousands of his countrymen in his own convincing and inimitable way.

The pure Voluntaryists, however, both of England and Wales, emphatically denounced and repudiated those Minutes, declaring that they would operate to discourage and paralyse voluntary exertion, and that they were nothing more or less than a new scheme for establishing a State-aided religion. When one bears in mind that these Minutes simply enacted that no school should receive Parliamentary aid unless it was thrown open to Government inspection, and, by providing for the awarding of certificates of efficiency to teachers, and for the payment of pupil teachers, clearly aimed at raising the character of the teacher's position and lightening his labours, one cannot help wondering at the short-sightedness of these

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sturdy Welsh Nonconformists—Henry Richard, David Rees, John Thomas, David Rhys Stephen, David Charles, Caleb Morris, Ieuan Gwynedd, etc., excellent Welshmen one and all, false prophets though they proved to be—in offering so determined an opposition to the acceptance of these Minutes. In days of old, false prophets were sometimes slain by the sword, or stoned to death; in these days they are sometimes sent to the House of Commons. The punishment, in both cases, seems excessive.

That these ardent Nonconformists were in deadly earnest is proved by the fact that, in spite of the Rev. John Phillips's success in North Wales, the British and Foreign School Society could not see its way to appoint an agent for South Wales before the year 1853, when the post was offered to, and accepted by, the Rev. William Roberts (*Nefydd*).

Inspired by the resolution of the English Congregationalists to raise a sum of £100,000 for the purpose of promoting popular education, a great Conference of the Welsh Educational Voluntaryists was held at Llandovery on the 9th and 10th April 1844, the Rev. David Charles, of Carmarthen, being in the chair, when it was resolved to establish forthwith a training school for teachers in Wales, and to make every effort to meet the educational wants of the Nonconformists of the country without the aid of the State. A permanent committee, representative of the four leading Nonconformist bodies, was formed to carry out the resolutions of the Conference, and on the 1st January in the following year a Normal College for the training of teachers for Nonconformist schools was opened in temporary premises at Brecon, with Mr. Evan Davies, afterwards Dr. Evan Davies, as its principal. From the very outset the Committee of Management had to struggle

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with pecuniary embarrassments, and eventually the college, which had been transferred to Swansea, lost its public character, and became the private property of the Principal, who was an exceptionally capable man, and who trained and inspired many of the best Welsh teachers of the last generation.

The voluntary schools which were established throughout South Wales, directly or indirectly, by this Committee, many of which were held in the Nonconformist chapels, or in buildings attached to the chapels, were almost from the first, owing to financial difficulties, struggling institutions, and in process of time were either converted into, or superseded by, State-aided schools. These schools and their founders are thus spoken of by Mr. Lingen in 1846 :—

"The majority of the people are Dissenters, and . . . . at the time of my visit there was a very general move throughout their body to procure education for themselves independently of religious tests.

"With regard to religious instruction, they were agitating in all directions for the formation of local committees, the collection of subscriptions, and the establishment of schools. In the summer of this year the entire sum promised to be subscribed in five years did not fall much short of £5,000.

"Out of 992 subscribers, 776 are either labourers, farmers paying less than £20 per annum in rent, mechanics, or small tradesmen. Eight hundred and eighty-seven are subscribers of less than £1 ; out of 316 committee men, only seven are members of the Church of England, the common qualification of a committee man being an annual subscription of 5*s*.

"It is an attempt to enlist among the same class, in favour of daily education, the same feeling which has

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covered the country with chapels and established Sunday schools, namely, it is to be all the Welsh people's own work, and they are to have it all to themselves, which appears to be the most inviting aspect under which any cause can be presented to their minds."

Lord Lingen evidently thoroughly understood the position taken up by the Educational Voluntaryists of Wales. Though his report, and, especially also, the reports of his colleagues, are disfigured by hasty generalizations and glaring inaccuracies, and are, in a large measure, tainted with a spirit of rank uncharitableness, still, notwithstanding all their faults and imperfections, the reports afford conclusive proof that the state of popular education in Wales in the year 1846 was most deplorable. It should be noted here that while the Dissenters of Wales were facing the educational problem with divided counsels and divided forces, the Churchmen of Wales were perfectly united in their desire to take all they could get from the Government in aid of their own schools. Under the guidance of the Church Education Committee, and under the inspiration of Bishop Thirlwall, they greatly increased the number of their day schools, and on the 1st July 1846, the foundation stone of the Carmarthen Training College was laid. The following year the college was formally opened. The building had cost the sum of £5,000. The Carnarvon Training College was opened in temporary premises three years later, where it remained until 1892, when it was removed into permanent premises at Bangor.

It was not until the year 1856 that steps were taken by Hugh Owen, John Phillips and others, acting in union with the British and Foreign School Society, to establish a training college for the teachers of British schools in North Wales. In two years the Rev. John Phillips collected the sum of £11,000 for this purpose. The new college build-

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ings were opened for the reception of students in the year 1862, with the Rev. John Phillips as its first principal. He held the appointment until his death in the year 1867. As many of you are aware, he was a man of a high type of mind and manners, and possessed a remarkable gift of persuasive eloquence.

I was a student at this college in the years 1864 and 1865, and it was in the former year that I first saw Hugh Owen. I was out walking alone one afternoon, when I met the Principal and Hugh Owen, who were making their way to the College. Mr. Phillips having some communication to make to me, stopped me, and when he had delivered his message, introduced me to his companion. Hugh Owen's singularly sweet and yet strong face had attracted my attention when I first saw it, some distance away. I little dreamed then that I should become so intimate with him in after years. Had I then known of his great services to the cause of Welsh education during the previous twenty years, and could I also at that moment have foreseen the equally great services he was to render to the same cause for many years afterwards, I might well have exclaimed on that memorable afternoon, as did Charlotte Brontë, when she first saw Lawrence's picture of Thackeray, "*And there came up a lion out of Judah.*"

My romance, in so far as it relates to public elementary education in Wales, ends here.

I must now retrace my steps a little. In the month of April 1854, Hugh Owen, at a private meeting held in the house of Mr. Thomas Charles, in London, unfolded a scheme for the establishment of colleges in Wales, similar to the (then) recently founded Queen's Colleges in Ireland. There were present at this meeting, among others, the late Rev. Samuel Roberts, of Llanbrynmair, and the late Dr.

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Lewis Edwards, of Bala. At this time the country was in the throes of a war with Russia, and scarcely was this dreadful conflict over when the Indian Mutiny broke out, and threw the whole British nation into a state of unparalleled agony and excitement. It was obvious that this was not an opportune moment to approach the Government for pecuniary aid in the matter of Higher Education in Wales; besides, the need for an Undenominational Training College for teachers was even more pressing than the demand for Queen's Colleges. The scheme referred to was therefore, for the moment, abandoned.

Eight years subsequently, that is in the year 1862, the late Dr. Thomas Nicholas published a series of articles in the *Cambria Daily Leader*, a newspaper published at Swansea, on the subject of Higher Education in Wales. These letters came under the notice of Hugh Owen, who thereupon invited Dr. Nicholas to read a paper on the subject at the Social Science Section of the National Eisteddfod, which was to be held at Swansea in the following year. Dr. Nicholas complied. The direct outcome of this meeting was another meeting, which was held on 1st December 1863, at the Freemasons' Tavern, London, under the chairmanship of the late Mr. William Williams, who was at that time M.P. for Lambeth. At this meeting it was resolved to establish a *University for Wales*.[1] At a subsequent meeting, which was held at the same place, on the 9th December, an Executive Committee was formed to carry out this resolution. Dr. Nicholas was appointed Secretary, Hugh Owen and the late Sir George Osborne Morgan Hon. Secretaries, Mr. William Williams was chosen Treasurer, and the late Mr. Morgan Lloyd, Q.C.,

[1] In the year 1852, an Association of Welsh Clergy in the West Riding of Yorkshire, presented a petition to the House of Commons for a University for Wales. *Vide Western Mail*, Dec. 6th, 1902.

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Sub-Treasurer. Dr. Nicholas rendered great service to the movement, though he retained his post only till the year 1867, when he resigned. He was succeeded as Secretary by the late Rev. David Charles, of Trevecca, who held the appointment till the year 1871. Sir George Osborne Morgan resigned the honorary secretaryship in the year 1868, and Morgan Lloyd the treasurership in 1874. Thus, one by one, most of Hugh Owen's early colleagues left him—aye, left him to fight the battle of Welsh Higher Education as best he might. But all his friends did not desert him; one of them, I am glad to say, is still living, and still takes the deepest interest in the cause of Welsh education, and, notwithstanding his advanced years, is still able to take a prominent part in all our national movements. I refer to Mr. Stephen Evans, the chairman of the Council of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion. He stood by his friend Hugh Owen manfully and unwaveringly throughout his struggle for Higher Education in Wales. And what an heroic struggle it was! He never halted in his course, never faltered; and if he was deserted by many of his old friends their places were promptly taken up by new friends, the most notable and helpful of whom was the late Lord Aberdare and Sir Lewis Morris. Though the one great tangible result of Hugh Owen's labours in the cause of Welsh Higher Education, the Aberystwyth University College, was opened in the year 1872, the storm and stress of his life were not over until the year 1881, when the Departmental Committee made their report on the State of Higher and Intermediate Education in Wales. His health was now failing him; his steps were becoming short and hesitating. The end was evidently drawing nigh. He went abroad—but only to die. He was brought home to be buried—26th November 1881. For well-nigh forty years he had been the one

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great central figure and moving spirit of the Welsh Educational Movement. After his death his spirit went on conquering, and is going on conquering still.

I make no doubt that you are all painfully aware of the fact that the national spirit has often died out, to be again and again revived, in many a Welsh town and in many a Welsh district; from time immemorial, however, it has never even slumbered in the breasts of London Welshmen. The lamp has always been kept burning on the altar of Welsh nationality in London, and the Welshmen of London have always been the leaders in all our national movements. They are so to-day; and when they revived the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion and established the National Eisteddfod Association, they provided the Principality with the two most powerful Welsh Educational Agencies of this generation.

It was in the year 1873 that, one evening, I accompanied Hugh Owen to the lodgings of the late John Griffiths (*Gobebydd*), in Thanet Place, Strand. There were there waiting him (for I was present at this gathering simply as a listener and spectator), besides *Gobebydd* himself, the late Rev. Robert Jones of Rotherhithe and Mr. Stephen Evans. After much talk of a most interesting description they resolved to convene a meeting forthwith, at the Freemasons' Tavern, for the express purpose of reviving the Society of Cymmrodorion, which had been dormant for nearly three-quarters of a century. With the exception of Mr. Stephen Evans, I am the only survivor, I believe, of those who were present at the Freemasons' Tavern on that memorable occasion. The others present, in addition to Mr. Stephen Evans, were Hugh Owen, the Rev. Robert Jones of Rotherhithe, *Gobebydd*, Brinley Richards, Joseph Edwards, Morgan Lloyd, *Mynorydd*, B. T. Williams and J. Roland Phillips. Sir Lewis Morris, who subse-

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quently rendered invaluable service to the Society, had not at that time been discovered. He became a member of the Society two or three years later. And Sir Isambard Owen, who has in recent years rendered such splendid service not only to the Society but also to the cause of Welsh University Education, did not become a Cymmrodor till several years later, being introduced to the Council, I distinctly remember, by the late Mr. Joseph Edwards. If you will but keep in mind that the Social Science Section of the National Eisteddfod, which was established by Hugh Owen in 1862, became known from about this time as the Cymmrodorion Section of the Eisteddfod, you will be able to see the bearing of this revival of a defunct Society on the development of Welsh Education.

From 1872 to 1881 Hugh Owen devoted most of his time to the service of the Aberystwyth University College, and the cause of Higher Education in Wales generally. In the year 1879 he founded the North Wales Scholarship Association, which remained in existence until the passing of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act in 1889; and in the year 1880 he induced the late Lord Aberdare to address a letter to Mr. Gladstone, asking that the Government should set on foot an inquiry into the state of Higher and Intermediate Education in Wales. The Government complied, and the Departmental Committee of Inquiry, consisting of Lord Aberdare (President), Mr. Henry Richard, Professor Rhys, Mr. Lewis Morris, Viscount Emlyn and the Rev. Prebendary Robinson (of the Charity Commission), began their work the same year.

It was in this year also (1880) that Hugh Owen, at the Cymmrodorion Section of the Carnarvon National Eisteddfod read two papers, one dealing with the provisions made by the Government for Intermediate Education in Ireland,

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and the other with the question of Eisteddfod reform. The reading of the latter paper led to the establishment of the National Eisteddfod Association, at Shrewsbury, in the following September. This, by the way. Let me now return to Mr. Fearon. He writes:—

"The Departmental Committee made its report in 1881. We are familiar in England with that kind of enthusiasm for a cause which exhausts itself in the process of preliminary examination. It not unfrequently happens that the desire for a measure of legislation is sufficiently strong to induce a Government to direct an inquiry by means of a Royal Commission or otherwise, and then evaporates. But this was not the way in which the Welsh people dealt with the report of Lord Aberdare's Committee. They quickly and unanimously resolved what they wanted, and they soon translated their resolutions into energetic and unceasing action. Throughout the years 1886-7-8 they repeatedly, persistently, and unanimously, by deputations, by their representatives in Parliament, and by private attempts at legislation, pressed the question on the attention alike of Liberal and Conservative Governments, until, in the summer of 1889, they obtained the Welsh Intermediate Education Act."

All this is perfectly true; but what about the interval between the year 1881 and the year 1886? In other words, in what way were the Welsh people "dealing with the report of Lord Aberdare's Committee" during that interval? Let us see. At a meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the Denbigh National Eisteddfod, which was held on the morning of Friday, August 25th, 1882, the late Mr. Thomas Gee proposed the following resolution:—"That it is most important that at the present juncture a National Education Committee be formed to watch over and represent the educational and other public interests of

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the Principality, and that the centre of operations be in London. That an annual report be presented by the said Committee at the National Eisteddfod every year. That Mr. W. E. Davies and Mr. T. Marchant Williams be requested to act as conveners of the Committee." Mr. Gee's motion was seconded by Mr. Lewis Morris, and was unanimously adopted by the meeting. Among the objects which would immediately engage the attention of the Committee were :—

Higher Colleges for Wales, and
Middle-class Girls' Schools for Wales.

In the month of October following, Mr. Henry Richard was consulted in reference to these resolutions. He deemed it inadvisable to make any attempt to carry out the resolutions without first ascertaining the late Lord Aberdare's views in respect to them. He there and then wrote to Lord Aberdare, who was out of town at the time, on the subject. In due course a favourable reply came from his lordship, who suggested that a meeting might be held at his house, 1 Queen's Gate, on Tuesday, November 28th, for the special purpose of discussing the subject. There were present at this meeting Lord Aberdare (who occupied the chair), Mr. Henry Richard, Sir George Osborne Morgan, Sir Robert Cunliffe, Mr. Henry Allen, Mr. Charles Henry James, Mr. Lloyd Phillips and myself. "Letters of apology for non-attendance (I am quoting from the newspaper report of the proceedings) and expressing cordial sympathy with the object of the meeting were received from Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Sir Hussey Vivian, Mr. Richard Davies, Mr. J. H. Puleston, M.P., Mr. Lewis Morris and others."

An explanation having been given of the circumstances that led to the foundation of the National Education Committee, and of the special objects of the Committee,

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Lord Aberdare addressed the meeting and drew attention to the fact that the report of the Departmental Committee contained three recommendations, relating severally to Colleges for Higher Education, to Middle-class Schools, and to Advanced Elementary Schools, and suggested that, as the Government had already taken certain steps with regard to the first and third recommendations, and contemplated taking action as regards the question of Intermediate Schools, the only question at that moment remaining for the consideration of the Committee was that of a University College for North Wales. After a long discussion it was decided to invite representative men from all parts of North Wales to meet the National Education Committee at a Conference to be held at Chester in the month of January 1883. The Conference, which was held in the Chester Town Hall on the 23rd January 1883, was attended, if I remember rightly, by 370 delegates, and was presided over by Lord Aberdare. Among those present were the Duke of Westminster, Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bishop Hughes, of St. Asaph, Dean Edwards, of Bangor, Mr. John Roberts, M.P., Sir George Osborne Morgan, M.P., Sir Robert Cunliffe, Mr. Richard Davies, M.P., Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., Mr. Samuel Holland, M.P., Mr. Henry Robertson, M.P., Mr. Lewis Morris, Dr. Lewis Edwards, Rev. Herber Evans, Rev. Michael D. Jones, Mr. Thomas Gee, Mr. David Davies, Llandinam, Mr. Stephen Evans, etc. The outcome of this Conference was the North Wales University College, the hon. secretaries of which, until the charter was passed and the staff was settled, were the late William Rathbone, Sir Robert Cunliffe, Mr. J. R. Davies and myself. The College was opened in the year 1884.

The University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire was opened at Cardiff the year before (1883).

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The Welsh Intermediate Education Act was passed in the late summer of 1889. "By an early date in 1890," says Mr. Fearon, "an Education Committee had been duly formed in every county and county borough to which the Act applied, and before the close of the year these Committees began to make to the Charity Commissioners their statutory proposals for schemes, the county of Carnarvon leading the way. And in an incredibly short period of time the county school system was completely established and in active operation throughout Wales and Monmouthshire. In May 1896 the scheme for the Central Welsh Board, which brings and keeps together the whole system, received the approval of the Crown."

Mr. Fearon then declares that no educational reform more remarkable than this has ever been accomplished in any European country, and by way of justifying his application of the word romance to his account of this great reform, he refers to the thoroughness, the rapidity, the enthusiasm and the self-restraint with which it was effected, the harmony and cordiality with which the various counties and boroughs co-operated with one another, the excellent relations which were established and have been maintained between the local authorities and the central authorities, and finally to the great efforts and sacrifices made in this cause by the Welsh people.

In dismissing this question of Intermediate Education, it would be unpardonable, on my part, were I to omit to acknowledge the immense assistance the friends of Higher Education in Wales received at this juncture from such men as Sir William Hart Dyke and Mr. Acland, and the heads of some of the Government Departments, and especially from Mr. Fearon himself and our distinguished Chairman. Did we but know of the way in which in ordinary circumstances what would be regarded officially as insuper-

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able obstacles to the rapid progress of the great educational reform referred to, were ruthlessly brushed aside by Sir George Kekewich and Mr. Fearon; of the wise, kindly and helpful counsel they so readily and so cordially, from time to time, gave to the reformers; and of the numberless conferences these great officials had with the late Thomas Ellis, Viriamu Jones, Mr. Stuart Rendel, now Lord Rendel, William Rathbone, and others, during the period spoken of by Mr. Fearon, the romance of Welsh Education would be far more striking and interesting than even he has been able to make it.

The last Chapter of the romance must be short. It deals with the establishment of the Welsh University: Sir Isambard Owen is to-day the great central figure of the University movement. Upon him has fallen the mantle of Hugh Owen, and it is no small praise to him to say that he is not lost within its folds. He will bear me out, I am sure, when I say that his active interest in Welsh Education began with the establishment of the "Utilization of the Welsh Language Society" in 1885. No one did greater service to the Society than he, and his interest in its work remains unabated to this day. Two years later, that is in 1887, at a meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the London National Eisteddfod, the late Principal Viriamu Jones, read a paper on "A Welsh University." The late Principal Thomas Charles Edwards occupied the chair at the meeting. It was a distinct success, and some of us felt when it was over that the foundation stone of the University was laid on that day. But none of us dreamed that in seven years or so the structure would be completed. In 1886 Principal Reichel said in a paper, which he read before the Liverpool Welsh National Society—"The subject of a University for Wales has hardly yet been mooted. Years are certain

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to elapse between the opening of the campaign and the crowning victory. Immediate action will certainly not give us a University in 1887, but it may make the date 1897 instead of 2007. Shall we begin to press the question of the Welsh University at once, or shall we wait some years till we acquire strength and experience?"

The Welsh people did not wait long. The next year the work was begun, and in seven years it was done. I am not in a position to apportion the credit for this wonderful achievement among those who worked together so strenuously and heroically to effect it. Some of the credit is due to the late Lord Aberdare, some also to that fine Welsh patriot, Thomas Ellis, some also to Principals Reichel and Roberts, Mr. Brynmor Jones, Mr. Humphreys Owen, Principal Rhys, Mr. Cadwaladr Davies, and others; most of it is, perhaps, due to Viriamu Jones and Dr. Isambard Owen.

Such is a brief outline of the history of the growth of our Educational System. We are a small people, poor but proud. It is not without reason that we are proud of our beautiful country and our beautiful language, and, most assuredly, it is not without reason that we are proud of our educational system. It is an old saying that the Red Dragon will give the lead. *Y ddraig goch a ddyry gychwyn.* It gave the lead at Crecy and at Bosworth in the days of long ago, and the great commanders of our educational forces tell us that it gives the lead at Whitehall to-day. Does not all this sound to you like a romance?

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WELSH CATHOLICS ON THE CONTINENT.[1]

By W. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, B.C.L. Oxon.

"The Jesuits as a body stood for the Catholic Reaction from first to last, a political expedient. The Clergy, on the other hand, contented themselves with the cause of religion."

Taunton's *English Jesuits*, Preface.

"The principle of Authority was emphasised, as long as that Authority was Jesuit, or at least under their direction; but this was done at the cost of personality, episcopacy, and nationality."

Ibid., p. 171.

"The Jesuits saw plainly, after the fate of the Duke of Norfolk, and the collapse of the Northern Earls, that Elizabeth would never be overturned except by the aid of a foreign force."

Hume's *Treason and Plot*, p. 12.

"Long before the Armada sailed, the Scottish Catholics at the Vatican, jealous of their king's right to the English succession, the French cardinals, apprehensive of a Spanish dominion over England, the Welsh priests, led by Owen Lewis, Bishop of Cassano, and most of the English Seculars, Carthusians, and Benedictines, none of whom had any love for the pushing Jesuits, were busy with plans that should make England a Catholic country without submitting her to a foreign yoke." *Ibid.*, p. 13.

"The faction led by the Jesuits contended for the Spanish succession and the subjection of England to the Pope by force of arms. Their opponents were for the King of Scots, whether Catholic or Protestant. The one party upheld the papal claim to depose princes, whilst the members of the other party came to protest that in case of any attempt to enforce such a claim they should in conscience be bound to defend their sovereign in defiance of all ecclesiastical censures. These same men aimed at securing some measure of toleration for their religion, and at establishing a *modus vivendi* with

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, 28th of May 1902. Chairman, Sir John Williams, Bart.

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the State. The Jesuit zealots were for war to the knife, and for obvious reasons detested the thought of toleration."

Law's *Conflict of Jesuits and Seculars*, Introduction.

"Is it not an injustice to those heroic labourers in the vineyard of our Lord, who, like their Master, trod the winepress alone . . . . that they, their work, even their ends, should be identified with those of the Busy Men, Father Parsons and Father Holt and Father Cresswell and a few others of their kind? These were men . . . mistaken in their politics throughout, from their highest schemes to their most trivial workings: and they were worsted all along the line. To enter on the early days of St. Gregory's, in the University town of Douay, is to step at once into the very middle of the tangled thicket of those politics."

E. Bishop, *Downside Review*, vol. xvi, p. 34.

I.—Wales and the Reformation.

It is a common-place of history that the Reformation was not welcomed in Wales. Thomas Cromwell, it is true, found ready agents among Welsh lawyers and clergy to do his iconoclastic work, but the people looked on in sullen anger while the image of Dervel Gadarn was sacrilegiously torn from its shrine,[1] and the altar of Dewi Sant was stripped for the benefit of a renegade Bishop.[2] Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador at the court of Henry VIII, constantly refers to the Principality as being passionately loyal to the old faith,[3] and Catholic plotters for two generations invariably took into account, in estimating their

[1] *State Papers*, Hen. VIII (1538), vol. xiii, pt. i, Nos. 649; 863-4. Ellis's *Orig. Letters*, 1st Series, ii, 82; 3rd Series, iii, 194; *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Series, v, 152.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xiii, pt. i, No. 634. Wright's *Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camd. Socty.), 190, 77, 183, 186, 206, and 187, and also Edward Owen's *Catalogue of Welsh MSS. in British Museum*, 105*a* and *b*; 140; and 167 (A.D. 1611).

[3] "As to the indisposition of the people of Wales, of which mention is made . . . . I understand they are very angry at the ill-treatment of the Queen (Catherine) and Princess (Mary) and also at what is done against the faith, for they have always been good Christians." *State Papers*, Henry VIII, Nov. 3, 1543; vol. vii, No. 1368.

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chances of success, the unswerving devotion of Welshmen to the See of Rome.[1]

Relics of ancient Catholic practices and beliefs have survived to our own days. Mari Lwyd still cheers the winter nights of rural Wales, though few know that it represents the mystery play of "Holy Mary." Children, the truest conservatives, even yet make the sign of the cross when seeking to avert an evil omen or taking upon themselves a binding oath. The "gwylnos" survives, in Puritan setting, to mark the permanence in the human heart of that pathetic care for the departed which gave rise in ancient times to the practice of saying masses for the dead. The beautiful custom of strewing flowers on the graves of friends and relatives on "Sul y Blodau" testifies to the abiding, if unconscious, influence of Catholicism on the faith and practices of Welshmen. These are small matters, it may be, but that they have survived at all, after two centuries and more of the sternest and straitest Puritan discipline, is surely significant of the strong hold which the old faith had taken on the Welsh people.[2]

Extreme Protestants as Welshmen have now become, it is beyond question that, up to the great Rebellion, Wales was the most Catholic portion of Great Britain.

[1] *Vide*, for example, Parsons' letter to the Cardinal of Como in 1581, where he suggests that Dr. Owen Lewis should be sent to raise Wales, because of his influence "with his countrymen the Welsh, who can be of much service in this affair, and will desire to help from the great affection which they bear to the Catholic faith: and when the army has reached England, then Dr. Owen might be sent to Wales with the great lords of that country, who already favour us, to help in raising the people of those parts." S.P.O., *Roman Transcripts*, vol. xv, No. 477. Cf. also *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. xiii, p. 428.

[2] Cf. *Life and Letters of Laud.* Erasmus Saunders, *View of the State of Religion in St. David's* (1721). Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, ii, 357. J. Lewis (Glasgrug), *Contemplation of these Times.*

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The whole of Wales only produced three Protestant martyrs in the reign of Mary.[1] The mass of the people were indisposed to accept the new-fangled doctrines either of Wittenberg or of Geneva. "The Welsh counties tell (the Earl of) Pembroke," wrote the Duke de Feria to his master, Philip of Spain, in the first year of Elizabeth, "to send no preachers across the marches, or they will not return alive."[2] John Penry, the prototype of the strenuous Welsh Nonconformist, was brought up on the hillsides of Eppynt in the Catholic religion, and it was only after he had gone to Cambridge that he came under the influence of Protestantism.[3]

Catholicism stood for more than the old religion; it stood also for Welsh nationality. Protestantism was an alien plant, fostered by English or Anglicised officials. Men looked back to pre-Reformation days as a time when Wales was not a mere part of England, when the Welsh language was not tabooed in the courts, and when Welsh laws and customs were still observed.[4] All that was best and noblest in Welsh story was intertwined with the history of the roofless abbeys, which remain to this day monuments of Welsh piety and art. Strata Florida and

[1] Rees's *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, p. 3.

[2] Simancas MSS., quoted by Froude, *Hist. of England*, vol. vi, 190.

[3] Born 1559. *Vide* Rees's *Hist. of Prot. Noncon. in Wales*, p. 20.

[4] "The distress of the people is incredible, and the anxiety they have to declare themselves, especially the Welsh, from whom by Act of Parliament the King has just taken away their native laws, customs, and privileges, which is the very thing they can endure least patiently." Chapuys, Dec. 19, 1534: *State Papers*, Hen. VIII, vol. vii, 1554. In the following year the Act incorporating Wales with England was passed, which swept away all Welsh customs inconsistent with English law, and forbade the use of the Welsh tongue by officials of all degrees. Cf., the petition sent to the Privy Council in 1558 "on the behalf of the inhabitauntes of Wales and the County Pallentyne of Chester for their auntient libertyes and customes to be allowed," in Acts of the Privy Council, vii, 64-5.

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Aberconway, in their ruins, still testified to the dream of Welsh independence which had inspired the waking thoughts, and directed the policy, of the princes who sleep in peace in their solitude; Valle Crucis and Tintern embodied in their deathless beauty the finest and most spiritual aspirations of the Cymry; Carmarthen and Talley had given refuge and solace to the greatest Welsh bards, when stricken with age and poverty; Margam and Neath, Basingwerk, Cymmer, and Strata Marcella—every monastery was a museum stored with priceless treasures of Welsh poetry and romance. Each parish church, called after a native saint who had no place or meaning in the Protestant economy, led the Welsh mind, with its insistence on the living influence of the past, back to the earliest dawn of Christian civilisation in the land.[1] Everywhere within sound of the monastic bell there had reigned peace and contentment.[2] The Church had given free education to the brightest sons of the poor, it had dispensed its

[1] Cf. Griffith Roberts's preface to *y Drych Cristionogawl* (1585): "Mae'n rhaid ir gwlodydd eraill enwi y rhann fwyaf oe Heglwysi ar henw un or Postolion neu Saint ereill, ny bythont yn perthyn idd eu gwlad nhyw: ond drwy holl Gymry ni cheir nemor o eglwys ond ar enw saint y wlad."

[2] How far this aspect of Catholicism appealed—and still appeals—to the Welsh mind, finds a curious illustration in the lines which Glasynys, one of the most typical Cymric poets of the last century, wrote in his beautiful "Llyn y Morwynion":—

"Mynachlog neu ysbytty, mor swynol swn dy gloch!
Mae'n seinio dros y cymoedd cudd 'yn iach, yn iach y boch'
Mor hyfryd i'r pererin ar ol ei ludded maith
Fydd clywed clir wahoddiad hon i orffwys ar ei daith;
Ceiff yma gartref tawel; a phawb fydd yma'n frawd
Yn ceisio dysgu'r naill y llall i withladd byd a'r cnawd,
Yr oriau gedwir yma i ymbil am y rhad,
A gluda'r egwan, er mor llesg, i dawel dy ei Dad.
Ty gweddi,—ty elusen—ty cariad,—cennad Iôr—
Na foed i'r aberth bythol mwy gael gwawd o fewn dy gor!"

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kindly charity in the homes of the aged. There was no need for free schools, or for the workhouse—that hideous creation of Protestant charity. The abbey and glebe lands were well tilled by tenants who held on easy terms. Divided though Welshmen were, and fierce as had been their provincial jealousies, they had all united in one common worship, and Dewi Sant was in very truth the Patron of Wales, the one common pride and common heritage of the whole race.

"Yn Nyffryn Clwyd nid oes
Dim ond darn bach o'r groes
Oedd gynt yn golofn ar las fedd:"

but that fragment of the cross served to remind generations of Welshmen of the link which bound them to their historic past.

With the Reformation came strange doctrines and strange laws. Gone were the kindly landlords of the monastery, and in their place stood needy adventurers, unmindful of the past and uncertain of the future, only anxious to make the most of the present. Gone were the free schools of the religious houses, whose place was inadequately filled by new and meagrely-endowed grammar schools, called after Edward VI and Elizabeth. Gone, too, was that perfect organisation which gave a priest to every parish; and for generations, and even centuries, clerical pluralists devoured the substance of the Church, while "the hungry sheep looked up, and were not fed."[1] Nor

[1] Rees's *Protest. Nonconformity in Wales*, p. 5; John Penry's *Exhortation*, p. 31; Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, pt. ii. Cf. Erasmus Saunders (Dedication of *View of the State of Religion in the Diocese of St. David's*, p. 6). "It will be a spectacle still more moving, to see as it were the whole frame of our religion sinking, to see many parishes without churches, many churches without pastors, and many pastors without a maintenance." *Vide* also *ib.* pp. 53 *seq.* Saunders, of course, refers to the state of the Established Church in the early years of the 18th century.

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could the married clergy, with heavy domestic claims on attenuated incomes, afford to distribute alms with the bounteous generosity of the old priests. Churchwardens came to be elected to look after the poor; and when compulsory almsgiving in church had failed of its purpose, the Parliament of Elizabeth had to add the Poor-Rate and the Poor House to our national institutions. With the political change which turned the old Welsh chiefs into modern English landlords, and drove the ancient tongue of Wales out of court and hall, came the religious change which transformed Dervel Gadarn into a Philistine Dagon, and Dewi Sant into a fable of the priests or an object of idolatrous worship.

No one who knows Wales and Welshmen will be surprised that such a violent revolution was strongly, if tacitly, resented. The Anglicised gentry and interested officials might accede to, though even they did not welcome the change; but the people silently clung to the old faith, and although with each succeeding generation their knowledge of Catholic doctrine and practice grew less,[1] in heart and soul they remained, until the Puritan movement stirred the profoundest emotions of their nature, loyal to the ancient faith of their forefathers. It is strange that, while this fact is clearly recognised by historians, no attempt should have been made hitherto to trace the efforts of Welsh Catholics to keep alive the flame on the

[1] See, *e.g.*, the description given by Griffith Roberts, in his introduction to the *Drych Cristionogawl* (1585), of the state of ignorance of the younger generation: "Myfi a glowa fod aml leoedd yn ghymbry, ie, siroedd, cyfan heb un Cristion yndd ynt, yn byw mal anifeilieid, y rhan fwyaf o honynt heb wybod dim odiwrth ddaioni, ond ei bod yn unig yn dala henw Crist yn ei cof." Cf. Rhosier Smith's dedication of his *Catechism* (1611). See also a curious account given in Baily's *Apophthegms of the Marquis of Worcester* of the life of an old Catholic Welshwoman, who was living near Strata Florida in 1642.

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altar. The reason for this omission is, perhaps, not far to seek. Welshmen, under the influence of Protestantism, have been more concerned to discover the origin and to trace the development of Puritanism, than to ascertain the stages in the decay of Catholicism in Wales. Catholic historians, on the other hand, have never, seemingly, been able to appreciate the fact that Wales is as distinct from England as Ireland or Scotland.[1] The heroic labours of Welsh priests in the mission field, the torture and martyrdom of some, the lifelong exile of others, have not been put down to the credit of Wales, but have been indiscriminately reckoned as part of the history of English

[1] Though this difference is ignored by modern Catholic historians, it was ever present in the minds of Catholics in the 16th century. Cf., *e.g.*, Cardinal Sega's report in 1596, as to the Roman dissensions, where he refers to Dr. Morris as a Welshman, "the native of a country distinct from England, and differing from it in no slight degree as to manners, characteristics, and language." (Foley's *Engl. Jesuits*, vol. vi.) Cf. also "Causae quare scholares Angli tantum abhorrent a regimine D. Mauritii, et Archidiaconi Cameracensi, qui quaerunt eis dominari" (1578-9), which is given in the Appendix to the 2nd volume of Dodd's *Church History*, No. lix. They commence as follows:—"Isti duo homines, qui tantum nos affligunt, sunt gentis diversae ab Anglis, et vocantur ab Anglis Walli; ipsi autem se vocant Britannos: nam sunt reliquiae illorum Britannorum qui, ante ingressum Anglorum in insulam, quae tunc Britannia, nunc Anglia, vocatur, possidebant eandem insulam: post autem victoriam Anglorum, qui superfuerant redacti sunt in quamdam partem insulae montosam et sterilem, quae ab illis Wallia dicitur, ubi degunt subjecti Anglorum imperio; sed tamen et linguâ, et moribus, et loco habitationis, et natura etiam multum differunt ab Anglis. Henricus tamen octavus, rex hereticus, concessit illis privilegia Anglorum: unde nunc illi foris, quando beneficiis et privilegiis nostris utuntur, Anglos se appellant; sed tamen antiquum illud odium in totam Angliam et gentem nostram retinentur, ubicunque occasionem aliquam aut potentiam obtinere possunt, congregant se statim contra Anglos, et eos affligunt. Unde Walli in Anglia rarissime permittuntur ad honores magnos ascendere; et in universitatibus nostris, fundatores collegiorum providerunt et statuerunt, ut ratio habeatur hujus

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Catholicism. It is my purpose, in this paper, to make an attempt—crude and imperfect as I know it must be—to trace for the first time the part which Welshmen played, and the influence they exerted, on what is called the Counter-Reformation.

II.—The Racial Feud at Rome.

In the year 1568, ten years after the accession of Elizabeth, there dwelt in the University town of Douay, in Belgium, three old Oxford men, exiles for conscience sake. Two of them were Welshmen, the third was an Englishman. The oldest of the three was Dr. Morgan Phillips,[1] a native of Monmouthshire, who had earned for himself the title of "Morgan the Sophister" in the halls of Oxford, and who had been precentor of St. David's

rei, ne pax totius reipublicae perturbetur. Unde in plurimis collegiis expresse praecipitur ne ullus Wallus admittatur: in aliis, exiguus quidam et certus numerus Wallis recipiendus statuitur. Et licet hoc ita sit, tamen illi pauci, qui ibi degunt, continuas et perpetuas factiones contra Anglos in iisdem universitatibus tuentur, quod probare possumus testimonio omnium Anglorum qui Romae sunt. Itaque Angli et Walli, quoad amorem naturalem, sejuncta religione Christiana quam utraque gens profitetur, ita se plane habent et invicem, ut Hispani et Mauri qui ante Hispanos possidebant illa loca. At tam impossibile est naturaliter (nam excipiamus quosdam pios ex ipsis viros) Wallum bene tractare Anglum, si illi praesit, atque est Maurum amanter tractare Hispanum."

[1] Dr. Morgan Phillips matriculated at Oxford in 1533, in 1538 he was elected Fellow of Oriel College, and in 1546 he became Principal of St. Mary's Hall, a post which he filled till 1550, when he resigned. He was, like most of the Welsh Catholics, a zealous supporter of Mary Stuart, and in 1571 wrote a *Defence of the Honour of Mary, Queen of Scotland*, which was published in Douay. For further particulars of his life, see Husenbeth's *English Colleges on the Continent*, Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, and Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*.

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Cathedral.[1] His countryman was Dr. Owen Lewis, the son of an Anglesea squire, who had been educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford.[2] He had resigned his Fellowship soon after the accession of Elizabeth, and in 1561, being then in the 28th year of his age, he had been appointed Regius Professor of Civil Law at the University of Douay. His learning and scholarship, his conciliatory temper and sane judgment, obtained for him speedy promotion, and in a short time he became Canon of Cambray and Archdeacon of Hainault. The third, whose fame has obscured the achievements of his friends, was Dr. William Allen, the scion of a good Lancashire family, the pupil of "Morgan the Sophister" at Oriel, and sometime Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford.[3]

The three were fast friends, and we may be certain that they often and anxiously discussed the religious condition of England. In 1568 all hope of the conversion of Elizabeth to Catholicism had been abandoned. Mary, Queen of Scots, the Catholic claimant to the succession to

[1] Previous to 1840 the Precentor was head of the Chapter of St. David's. In that year, a Dean was first appointed. (*Vide* Mr. Arthur Price's article on "Wales," in the *Encyclopædia of the Laws of England).* Phillips was made Precentor in 1553, but left for Douay on the accession of Elizabeth.

[2] Dr. Owen Lewis was born in Bodeon, Llangadwaladr (or Llanveirian), in Anglesea, on Dec. 28, 1533. He became Fellow of New College in 1553, and graduated B.C.L. in 1558. See article, *sub tit.* (which is incorrect, however, in many particulars), in the *Dictionary of National Biography;* Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*; Dodd's *Church History,* vol. ii; Kirby's *Winchester Scholars,* p. 127: Boase's *Oxford University Register,* i, 239; in addition to authorities elsewhere mentioned in this article.

[3] In a letter which Parsons wrote from Rome to Dr. Allen at Rheims in 1579, he calls Lewis "the great friend" of Allen (Knox, *Letters of Cardinal Allen,* ii, 74). See also Dr. Allen's letter to Dr. O. Lewis, May 12, 1579. Allen did not finally leave England till 1565.

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the English throne, had taken refuge from her rebellious subjects in England. Nor was the prospect in other directions less gloomy. "Never," says a recent writer, in reference to the first years of Elizabeth,

> "Never had a church so completely gone down before the first blow of opposition. Some 9,000 parish priests were content, with good or bad consciences, to read the Book of Common Prayer, and to preserve their livings. Several of their former Bishops were dead, others were in prison or on parole or fugitives abroad. There was no attempt on the part of Rome to fill up vacant sees or to provide ecclesiastical organisation or government. . . . The laity at home were left without pastors, guides, or instruction."[1]

The three exiles at Douay determined to fill this want, and to supply the Catholic laity in England with "pastors, guides, and instruction." In 1568 Dr. William Allen founded the famous Seminary of Douay,[2] for the training of priests for the English Mission, with the pecuniary help of Morgan Phillips and the active encouragement—perhaps with the material assistance—of Owen Lewis.[3] It was Phillips that purchased the house where the students first met,[4] and it was through his posthumous generosity—he died in 1577, leaving all his possessions to the

[1] Law's *Conflicts of Jesuits and Seculars*, p. 7.

[2] In 1578 it was transferred from Douay to Rheims, where it remained till 1593. In that year it returned to Douay, and remained there till the end of the 18th century.

[3] Owen Lewis did undoubtedly help the English College at Rome in later years. A suggestion is made in a letter written from Rome in 1579 to Dr. Allen, in Rheims, by Haddock, one of the English students, which seems to show that Dr. Lewis helped the Douay College also with his purse. "When it was said that he (*i.e.* Owen Lewis) would get no Englishmen (to the Roman College), he said that you (Dr. Allen) should either send him some, or he would send you no money." (Dodd, vol. ii, p. cccl, *seq.*) Cf. his epitaph (Knox, *Records*, ii, 448): "Ejus in primis opera hujus collegii Duacensis et Rhemensis fundamenta facta sunt."

[4] Dodd: *Church History*, ii, 100.

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Seminary—that the College was able to extend its activity.[1] The object of the founders was religious and not political. They trained men to save souls, not to overturn thrones and dynasties. In the first ten years of the Seminary's existence, Dr. Allen sent over as many as a hundred priests to England. They were quiet, earnest and devoted men, not given to blowing of trumpets or to boasting of their good work. Some of them, like John Bennett, of Flint,[2] and Robert Gwinn,[3] went back to labour in Wales. The Government did not, except in times of political excitement, interfere with them, and the early seminarists were free from political taint or suspicion of active disloyalty, because the founders of the College of Douay for many years kept themselves clear of political intrigues.[4]

[1] Knox, *Records*, i, 5, 10 c.d.

[2] Father John Bennett, *alias* Price, *alias* Floyd, *alias* Baker, the son of Hugh John Bennett, of Brin Canellan, Flint, was born in 1548. He went to Rheims in Aug. 1577 (Knox, *Records*, vol. i, 128), and returned to Wales in 1580, "because there were few or none that rightly executed the functions of true priests in the country of Wales." He was apprehended in 1582, tortured, and sent to perpetual banishment in 1583. Two years later he went to Rheims, and at length "going from thence, he entered into the Society of Jesus" in 1586. He returned to his former mission in 1590, and died of the plague in London in 1625. This John Bennett should be distinguished from another of the same name, also a native of Flint, who was prominent in the Wisbeach stirs and Archpriest controversy. See Foley's *Jesuits*, vii, 50; Challoner's *Missionary Priests*, i, 416.

[3] Robert Gwinn (Oxf. 1568, Douay, 1571) is said not only to have laboured in Wales, but to have written several books in Welsh, and to have translated Parsons' *Christian Directory* or *Llyfr y Resolution*. *Vide* Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*, and Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*.

[4] From 1574 onwards great numbers of Seminarists went to England from Douay and the other colleges. That their ministrations were in the main religious, and although sometimes ignorant and unwise, *not* political, is seen by the fact that up to 1581 only three persons lost their lives for Catholicism under Elizabeth; although from 1570

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The success of the Douay Seminary led to the establishment ten years later, in 1578, of an English College at Rome. Some years before, Owen Lewis, now Archdeacon of Hainault, had occasion to go to Rome in connection with a lawsuit in which the Chapter of Cambray were involved. He speedily gained the confidence of the Pope, Gregory XIII. Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, the saintly Archbishop of Milan, admitted him into his intimacy, and when the appointed time came for the saint to lay down the burden of his earthly life, it was in the arms of the Welsh exile that he breathed his last.[1] Dr. Lewis naturally became acquainted with the Cardinal's chaplain, Dr. Gruffydd Roberts,[2] if indeed the two were not friends before, and as we find a Dr. Smith also frequently mentioned in connection with the two, it is no wild conjecture to conclude that Rhosier Smith[3] was also numbered among the Archdeacon's Welsh friends and followers. Almost the first use to which Dr. Lewis put his influence in high places was to establish another English College in Rome, where the best students at Douay could come to finish their training for the missionary field in the mother city of the Catholic faith.[4] In 1575-6 Dr. Allen, the head of the prosperous College at Douay, was summoned to Rome to

onward all Catholic propagandists and "obstinate" recusants were treated as disloyal subjects, and imprisoned when caught (Hume's *Treason and Plot*, p. 84). It was only in 1582, after Campion's death and Parsons' return from his English mission, that Allen began to concern himself with politics. (Knox, *Records*, vol. ii, p. xxiii.) But see a letter of Sanders to Allen from Madrid in 1577 (c. *S. Papers*, Dom. Eliz., vol. cxviii), which seems to shew that, even as early as that year, Allen was embroiled in political schemes.

[1] Knox, *Records of English Catholics*, vol. i, Intro. p. xxx, and p. 430; vol. ii, 469. St. Borromeo died in 1594.

[2] *V.* Appendix C.

[3] *V.* Appendix C.

[4] Taunton's *Jesuits*, p. 34; Ely's *Brief Notes*, p. 73.

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give the Pope the benefit of his advice and experience. The result was that the Pope decided to found an English College at Rome.

There had long existed an English Hospital (of St. Thomas of Canterbury) for the entertainment of pilgrims in the Eternal City. What its origin really was it is, with our present information, impossible to say. According to English authorities, it was founded in 727 by Ina; it ceased to exist in 1204; and in 1362 it was revived by John Shepherd, a merchant of London.[1] According to the Welsh version, it was originally founded by King Cadwallader, and the house itself, which, we are told, was "both large and faire, standing in the way to the Pope's Pallace, not far from the Castle of St. Angelo,"[2] was once the Palace of the last King of united Wales.[3] Since the conquest of Wales in 1282 it had been thrown open to the pilgrims of both nations, but its government, it was contended, should still lie in the hands of Welshmen.[4] However that may have been, in 1559 a Welshman, Sir Edward Carne, Queen Mary's ambassador in Rome, was appointed custos or warden, and two years later Dr.

[1] Taunton's *Jesuits*, p. 34.

[2] *The English Romayne Life*, imprinted at London by John Chorlwoode, Anno 1590, reprinted in *Harl. Misc.*, vol. vii, p. 136. The author was A. M., the initials of Anthony Munday.

[3] "The Welshmen pretended the first foundation of the College to have bene by a British king, for the perpetuall behoof of his countrymen." (L. Lewkenor's *Estate of the English Fugitives in Spain*, printed in London, 1595.) "The English Hospital, yea, and this seminarie were in times past the Palace of Cadwallader, Prince of Wales . . . . who by his last will . . . . gave his House or Palace . . . . to bee an Hospital for Welsh pilgrims . . . . and ordained that certaine priestes of his country should have the rule and government of this Hospital for ever," etc. (Lewis Owen's *Running Register* (1626), p. 17.)

[4] L. Owen's *Running Register*, p. 17-18.

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Goldwell, the exiled Bishop of St. Asaph. In 1567 the Bishop seems to have resigned,[1] and Edward Taylor, Thomas Kerton, and Henry Matthews are mentioned as his successors. In the same year Dr. Maurice Clenock—a thin disguise for Dr. Morris, of Clynog, in Carnarvonshire,—was appointed Camerarius, and ten years later Custos or Warden.

Morris, who was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated B.C.L. in 1548, was afterwards attached to the household of Cardinal Pole. In the Cardinal's will the name of Morris appears as one of the attesting witnesses.[2] In 1553 he became Rector of Orpington, in Kent, and Dean of Shoreham and Croydon. In 1556 he was presented to the sinecure rectory of Corwen, and a little before Queen Mary's death he was nominated, but never was consecrated, Bishop of Bangor. On the accession of Elizabeth he accompanied his friend Bishop Goldwell to Rome.[3]

When the Pope determined, in 1578, to found an English College at Rome, it was only natural that he should utilise the Hospital which was already existing. The College was therefore joined to the Hospital, and the

[1] It may have been owing to advanced age, but more probably to other activities. In 1580 Goldwell refused to accompany Parsons and Campion to England, owing to his age. He was then close upon 80 years old. Bishop Goldwell, if Dr. Morris's alleged account is genuine, was confined to his room at the Hospital in 1578-9. (Dodd's *Church History*, vol. ii, 171.) He was born about 1500 (Knox, *Life of Goldwell*).

[2] In Card. Pole's will, which was executed on Oct. 14, 1558, the attesting clause runs:—"Presentibus venerabili fratre meo Thomea Episcopo Assavensi ac discretis viris Seth Hollando decano Wigorniensi, Mauricio Clenocke capellano et Johanne Francisco Stella auditore meis, testibus ad haec per me specialiter vocatis et rogatis." (*Wills from Doctor's Commons*, Camden Society, p. 53.)

[3] Dodd, i, 513, *vide* also appendix D, *infra*.

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Warden of the Hospital became also the first Rector of the College. The instruction of the students was entrusted to three Fathers of the Society of Jesus, with Father Aggazzari at the head.[1] Immediately the College was opened twenty-six students were sent to it from Douay; and in the following year, 1579, the Seminary consisted of forty-two students, the Rector, the Jesuit Fathers, and six servants.[2]

The arrangement seems to have worked badly almost from the start. Dissensions broke out among the students, which culminated in open rebellion against the Rector. It may be admitted at once that the Rector himself was incompetent for the delicate and difficult task he had to perform.[3] He was a kindly, well-meaning, garrulous old man; fond

[1] "There is at Rome a colony sent from the Douay Seminary composed of 26 persons, nearly all divinity students, some of whom live in the hospital with the brethren, but the greater part in a house immediately adjoining the hospital. . . . Three Fathers of your Society are there by command of the Pontiff, and at the request of Cardinal Morone, the Protector" (Letter of Gregory Martin to Campion in 1578). At first, Father John Paul was chief of the Jesuits, but he soon left to take up the rectorship of the Jesuits at Sienna, so that in 1579 there were only two Jesuit Fathers left in the College. (*V.* Haddock's letter; Dodd, ii, App. lix.)

[2] Gregory Martin to Campion in 1579.

[3] Of Dr. Morris's capacity and character there are extant several contemporary estimates. In the Vatican papers he is described as "a good man, but is no preacher. He is worthy of the See of Bangor, to which he has been nominated." (Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, ii, 324.) Dr. Allen, in writing to Dr. O. Lewis, admits that it was a mistake in the first instance to appoint Morris, "because Mr. Maurice, being otherwise a very honest and friendly man, and a great advancer of the students' and seminaries' cause, had admitted there, sent for, and called for two up to the Seminary, some of his own country folks and friends, for age, quality and instruction unfit for the study and the Seminary." "It was", he adds, "an escape and default" on O. Lewis's part, "because you did not dehort Mr. Maurice from taking unto him that charge in the beginning, for

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of a tale and a glass of wine and "good cheer" generally.[1] He had never had any previous experience of governing students,[2] and the thirty-three English students[3] resented the open preference which the old Welshman showed for the company of his nine compatriots in the College. The question of the origin of the College was invested with a new importance, and racial passions ran high. The petition which the English students drew up is evidence of the bitter hatred which had been engendered. They appealed to Cardinal Morone, the Protector of the College, and the speech of Sherwin,[4] the spokesman of the English

which, indeed, no dishonour be it unto him, he was not sufficient." (Knox, *Records*, ii, 79, May 12, 1579.) But it must be remembered that Allen was prejudiced by his kinsman Haddock and his inclinations to the Jesuits.

[1] Anthony Munday tells how he and his "fellow" sat up one night with Dr. Morris at the Hospital. "Maister Morris using us very courteously, passing away the supper-time with much variety of talke, amonge which maister doctor sayde his pleasure of divers persons in Englande: which for that it woulde rather checke modestie, then challenge any respect of honestie, I admitte it to silence: the talke being so broade that it would stand as a blemish to my booke."

[2] Fr. Parsons to Allen, from Rome, March 30, 1579: "Touching Mr. Morice and his government, I think verily and do partly know also, that it was insufficient for such a multitude; and how could it be otherwise, he being alone without help and never practised in such a manage before?" (Knox, *Records*, ii, 74.)

[3] "We (*i.e.*, the English students) were thirty-three in company." Haddock's letter to Dr. Allen. (Dodd, ii, App. lix.)

[4] The "author-reporter" of the speech was Anthony Munday, who only published it in 1590, or eleven years after. He refers to Sherwin as one "whoe was executed with Campion (in 1581), being there esteemed a singular scholler, bothe for his eloquence, as also his learning." Sherwin, though executed with Campion, was a Secular priest, and not a Jesuit. The report, which tallies with the written complaints of the English students, seems to be substantially accurate.

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students, has been preserved by one who heard it delivered.

> "When any Englishman," said Sherwin, "cometh to the hospitall, if his learning be never so good, or his behaviour never so discreet, except he (the Warden) be pleased, he shall not be entertained:[1] but if a Welshman come, if he be never so vilde a runagate, never so lewde a person, he can not come so soone as he shall be welcome to him; whether he have any learning or no, it maketh no matter, he is a Welshman, and he must be permitted.[2] Then which of us

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[1] This hardly agrees with the account which Munday gives of the welcome which was extended to himself and his "fellow" at the Hospital, "allowing us the eight days entertainment in the hospital, which by the Pope was granted to such Englishmen as came thither." Munday, however, says that the proximate cause of the students' outbreak was his own treatment at the Hospital. He admits that he outstayed his eight days, that he refused to become a student, that he had assumed the name of a well-known Catholic family in order to deceive the English refugees, that he broke every rule and suffered every punishment at the College, and that when he found the English students in a rebellious mood because Dr. Morris wanted to eject him, "I behaved myselfe more forwardly to Dr. Morris than ever I did before: everythinge that I hearde of him I tolde unto the schollers, and tarried there, dinner and supper, in spight of his nose." Finding it impossible to get rid of the impudent impostor, Dr. Morris complained to Dr. Morone. This, according to Munday,—whose story in other respects is confirmed by independent evidence—led to the first act of open rebellion on the part of the English students, who said "that if Dr. Morris woulde put everye Englishman he thought good on out, in short time the colledge woulde be all Welshmen."

[2] Cf. the English students' memorial, "Causae quae scholares Angli," etc., cited in Dodd's *Church Hist.*, vol. ii, No. lix. "Nam ut illi (*i.e.*, Dr. Morris and Dr. Lewis) augere possent numerum Wallorum in seminario, convocabant illuc ex omni loco et admittebant Wallos sine commendatione et examinatione, nam admiserunt fere senes et ineptos, nulla habita ratione aetatis, aut morum, aut literarum . . qui contrarium spiritum nobis habent, et contrarium finem intentioni suae sanctitatis de sublevandâ patriâ nostrâ. Ex contraria autem parte, Anglos nullos admittebant, nisi theologos aut philosophos, et variis modis commendatos, et eos etiam difficulter." Cf. also Haddock's letter to Allen: "Of the Welshmen that we have here, our Fathers do say, and so they show themselves, that they be *ineptissimi pro seminario*."

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hath the best gowne, he must receive one that is all ragged and torne,[1] and the new-come Welshmen must have the best, because he is the Custos' countryman; and many nightes he must have the Welshman in his chamber, where they must be merry at their good cheer: wee glad to sit in our studies, and have an ill supper, because M. doctor waisteth our commons upon his owne countrymen: so that we must be content with a snatch and away. If there be one bede better than another, the Welshman must have it; if there be any chamber more handsome than another, the Welshman must lodge there; in breefe, the things of most account are

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[1] Cf. Parsons to Allen, March 30, 1579 (Knox, *Records*, ii, p. 74). "The schollers also were very evil provided for necessaries, sometimes going all ragged and in worse case, some of them at least (and those of the principal) as I have seen with mine eyes. National partialities also in distribution of things, I think, was not so carefully avoided as ought to have been." This is also mentioned in the English students' "causae", the first part of which has already been cited. "Post autem admissionem in seminarium, iniquissime distribuebant [omnia]. Nam Wallis integra cubicula, Anglis arctissima loca: Wallis vestem novum et duplicem pro hieme, Anglis, iisque sacerdotibus et nobilibus multis, nullum hiemis vestitum: imo cogebant eos secretiores vestes aestatis praeteritae ferre laceratas, et omnino vermibus infectas. Sic cum hospitale Anglorum, ab Anglis jam a multis saeculis fundatum, auctoritate suae sanctitatis ad regimen illorum pervenisset, omnes Angli statim ejiciebantur, Walli retinebantur qui ibi prius erant, et externi etiam Walli convolabant statim, omnes tanquam ad communem praedam, et coquinâ, ejusque ministris, aliisque omnibus commoditatibus hospitalis sic fruebantur, ut suis propriis; cum interim nullus et Anglis externis, et per civitatem habitantibus, similem humanitatem ab illis vel petere auderet vel sperare." It is interesting to find what object the English students thought Dr. Morris and his friend the Archdeacon were trying to serve. "Hinc etiam apparet causa, quare archidiaconus tam vehementer laborat retinere D. Mauritium et seipsum in hoc regimine, ut quinquaginta tres Walli, qui domi Anglis serviunt, dominentur his Romae, et, si forte his temporibus (quod speramus) convertatur Anglia ad fidem catholicam, ipse, per favorem quem ambit summi pontificis, et illustrissimorum cardinalium, se suosque Wallos ad dignitates ecclesiasticas in Anglia promoveat, quod nunquam poterit fieri sine infinita perturbatione illius regni," etc.

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> the Welshman's at commande. This maketh many of us to wishe ourselves Welshmen, because we woulde gladly have so good a provision as they; and being countrymen to our Custos, wee shoulde all be used alike: excepting maister doctor's nephew, Morganus Clenokus,[1] he must be in his silke, though all the rest goe in a sacke."[2]

A little tact and wisdom, opportunely applied, might have averted the worst effects of the conflict, but these were elements which seem to have been lacking on both sides. Dr. Morris was in constant communication, if not in daily contact, with Owen Lewis; indeed, the government of the College seems at this time to have been largely in the hands of the Archdeacon. Early in 1579, a wandering Englishman, half spy, half adventurer, and wholly rascal, named Anthony Munday,[3] visited the Hospital, and in a pamphlet which he published eleven years later he gives a

[1] Morgan Clenock is entered as an alumnus at the Roman College in 1579, aet. 19. He had, therefore, only just arrived from Wales; and his uncle, who had been an exile for 21 years, might have well been pardoned for showing some favour to a young kinsman who had displayed such loyalty to the Catholic faith, and who brought news from Clynog. Morgan was sent to England as a missionary priest in 1582, and laboured in the missionary field in Carmarthenshire.

[2] Munday's "English Romayne Life," *Harl. Misc.*, vii.

[3] This amusing rogue says that it was "desire to see strange countries as also affection to learn the languages" persuaded him to travel abroad. He confesses that, while in Paris, he assumed a false name, which served as a passport to English Catholic circles on the Continent. He was at first a stage-player, then a servant to the Earl of Oxford; and ultimately a messenger of the Queen's bed-chamber. Soon after his Roman escapade the Jesuits found out that he was a spy, and in 1581 Parsons wrote violently against him in his *True Reporte of the Death and Martyrdome of M. Campion*. But this was after Munday had betrayed to the English government the "treasonable practices" of Campion. In 1582 he published a book, "*A discoverie*", in which he repeated his charges against the Jesuits. His true character, or want of character, is abundantly shown in his own writings, but though he wrote with an occasional touch of malice, he seems on the whole to be a careful observer and a truthful witness.

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very vivid and amusing account of the dissensions at the College. Almost immediately after his arrival, Dr. Morris took him to

> "Doctor Lewes, Archdeacon of Cambra, to whom wee delivered his letter likewise, and with him wee staied dinner: ignorant whether he were an Englishman or no, for that he gave our entertainment in Latin, demanded a number of questions of us in Latin, and beside dined with us in Latin: whereat we mervayled, tyll, after dinner, he bade us walk againe to the colledge, with Doctor Morris, in English."

But Owen Lewis seems to have been incensed at the time against the English in general,[1] and the Jesuits in particular. He suspected—and it is impossible to deny that there was some foundation for the suspicion—that the three Jesuit instructors were fanning the flames of strife.[2] One of the English students, named Richard Haddock,[3] wrote to his relative, Dr. Allen, at Rheims,

[1] Dr. Allen was told at Paris that Dr. Lewis once said to Leslie, the famous Bishop of Ross, "My lord, let us stick together, for we are the old and true inhabiters and owners of the isle of Brittany. These others be but usurpers and mere possessors." (Knox, *Records*, ii, p. 82.) There is no doubt that he was at this time friendly with Leslie (*vide* Dr. Plowden's *Remarks*, p. 103), who in the later years of his life was Lewis's pensioner (*State Papers, Dom.*, Eliz., vol. cclii, 10).

[2] In his letter to Dr. Allen, dated Rome, March 10, 1579, Dr. Owen Lewis gives expression to his suspicions about the Jesuits. The students' "supplication was penned better than many of them can pen." Dr. Lewis states that he told the Pope "multos esse, juvenes et deceptos, qui putabant se vivere in statu peccati, si aliis parerent quam Jesuitis," and that, though the students nominated Morton and Bavand as their Rector, or else the Jesuits, he had recommended Dr. Bristowe (of Rheims) to the Pope, and to the Cardinals Morone and Como.

[3] Haddock, who was a relative of Dr. Allen (*vide* Taunton's *Jesuits*, p. 191), was at this time and all through his life a zealous adherent of the Jesuits, and a supporter of the "Spanish faction". He and Array, one of the other English malcontents, afterwards acted as proctors for the Archpriest Blackwell at Rome during the "Appellant" controversy, twenty years later (*ibid.*, 251), and Mush mentions Haddock

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giving an account of the disturbances at the Roman College. After describing how four of the English students had gone to Civita Vecchia to speak to the Pope, who told them that *non erat tempus nunc*, he went on to say,

> "These things being thus, beginneth good Mr. Archdeacon to play his part, of whom, by the way, you shall understand how (for all his fair words and promises) he is affected towards us and our cause. For at our being away from home he uttered these words, which be all over the town, to his great shame, if he had any, to wit, that he had three sorts of enemies, amongst whom the first were boys. . . . . The second are the Jesuits, whereas I wonder he is not utterly ashamed, and by the which, I trust, you will more easily understand his doings, and orderly and honest proceedings against your poor company and scholars; and for my part, I do promise him very hardly the friendship of any Catholic Englishman that proclaimeth himself enemy unto the Jesuits. But as he useth in all things else, he will peradventure deny that again. The third was, as he termed them, charlotorii, that is, tattlers, wherein he comprehended all our countrymen in the town."[1]

The letters of Haddock seem to have carried great weight with Dr. Allen, who, in spite of his close friendship with Dr. Owen Lewis, took the English side in the dispute. Probably, "nepotism"—as well as anger at the Jesuits and sympathy with his Welsh friend—had something to do with Owen Lewis's attitude; for one of the

as one of Parsons' *mercenarii* in Rome, 1602 (*ibid.*, 262). Mush, who was one of the most prominent of the malcontents, afterwards became an opponent of Parsons and the Jesuits. Parsons described him as one who had been rejected by the Society of Jesus on account of his impracticable temper, and of an impetuous and resentful disposition. He was "a poor rude serving man" who had been received and educated by the Jesuits out of Charity. (*Ibid.*, pp. 264, 268.)

[1] Haddock's letter of March 9, 1579, which is very long and detailed, gives an excellent chronological account of the concluding stages of the "English revolt" against Dr. Morris (Dodd, ii, App. No. lix).

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most energetic and fiery of the Welsh faction was his nephew, Hugh Griffith,[1] afterwards Provost of Cambray.

> "You must temper your cousin Hughes tongue and behaviour" wrote Allen to Lewis,[2] "who is of a bitter, odd, and incompatible nature."

Hugh Griffith, indeed, had no doubts as to the part which the Jesuit fathers were playing.

> "Hugh writeth to me," said Allen,[2] "and to Dr. Bristowe most plainly that the Jesuits have been and shall be proved the council and counsellors of all these tumults. . . . Item, he saith that the Jesuits have no skill or experience of our country's state, nor of our men's nature; and that their trade of syllogising there is not fit for the use of our people."

For a long time the Welshmen held out triumphantly against the English students. In vain did the malcontents

[1] Hugh Griffith is mentioned by all the English writers as one of the principal causes of the quarrel. Munday says that one day the scholars were called before Cardinal Morone "because there was one Hugh Griffin, a Welshman of a hote nature, and he woulde many times fall together by the eares with some of the schollers that sometime the blood ranne about their eares." (*The English Romayne Life.*) Haddock tells Allen, in his letter of March 9, that if the Welsh students "could have their will, they would live here for ever, and do nothing but quarrel; as Griffith never ceaseth, Smith, nor Meredith." Hugh never forgave the Jesuits the part they had played. In February, 1582, Dr. Lewis wrote to Allen from Milan: "nepos meus Hugo jam complevit cursum philosophiae. Scripsit dominus Cardinalis S. Sixti ad me suadens ut illum ad me ex urbe revocarem; quod libenter facerem, si non esset ad quaedam mea et archiepiscopi nostri Cameracensis negotia illic persequenda necessarius. Conqueruntur quod multa loquatur contra collegium; nescio; sed suavi et amica tractatione possent illum habere amicissimum." In the last sentence is to be found probably the secret of the ill-success of the Jesuit fathers in their treatment of the Welsh students. Allen wrote back advising Dr. Lewis to take his nephew away, "ac id quoque esse ad salutem juvenis et collegii pacem omniumque animorum reconciliationem." (Knox, *Records*, vol. ii, 112 *seq.*) For proofs of Hugh's lasting animosity to the Jesuits, *vide* Foley's *Jesuits*, vi, 740; Ely's *Brief Notes*, 12; Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. iii, p. lxxx; *Spanish State Papers*, 1596, p. 628.

[2] May 12, 1579. Knox, *Records*, ii, p. 82.

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appeal to the Cardinal Protector and even to the Pope. The answer was always the same, "You must obey the Rector." At last, the English students in a body left the College, and determined to walk back across the Continent on their way to England. When they marched out, great was the joy among the Welsh students, and hot Hugh Griffith "gave a leap in the College hall, and shouted 'Who now but a Welshman?'"[1] But the end was not yet. The English students had no money, and for a few days they put up at the house of an English resident, named Creed,[2] while they begged their *viaticum*. In the meantime, the Jesuits spread broadcast the story of their grievances. Every Jesuit pulpit in Rome resounded with eulogies of the pluck and courage of the English students.[3] At last the news came to the ear of the Pope himself—

[1] Parsons' letter to Dr. Allen, March 30, 1579. (Knox, *Records*, ii, p. 74.)

[2] This is the name given both by Munday (*English Romayne Life*) and by Haddock in his letter to Allen. Dr. Lewis, in his letter to Allen, states that the students had gone to Dr. Morton's house, "credo", but the qualification shows that the Archdeacon was only speaking from hearsay (Dodd, ii). As both Munday and Haddock were among the malcontents, their evidence is conclusive.

[3] The accounts given by Munday in *The English Romayne Life*, and by Haddock in his letters, show beyond question that the Jesuit Fathers were supporting the English students. "The Jesuits", said Haddock, "began to beg in the pulpits for us, being Ash-Wednesday, and the first day of preaching, but without naming us. . . . And at Sienna is the Rector of the Jesuits, he that was our father the last summer . . . father John Paul, where we had 50 crowns appointed for us to be taken by the way. . . . . The Jesuits were out of their wits almost for us, insomuch that they wept, many of them . . ." Then when the news of victory came, "our fathers were beside themselves for joy. The Jesuits at the colleges were never so amazed and joyful. . . . In one word, such a general joy was through the whole society for us, as if it had been for themselves. . . . . The Jesuits admire our doings that we durst be so plain in our doings." (Dodd, ii, App. lix.)

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Owen Lewis says that he was the informant.[1] The Pope became alarmed at the possible effect which the angry exodus of so many aspirants to mission work would have on the enterprise of converting England. He called the malcontents to him, he sympathised with their grievances, he insisted that he had founded an English, and not a Welsh College,[2] and he ended up by promising to concede all their wishes. He was as good as his word. Dr. Morris was removed from the Rectorship of the College, though he was allowed to retain the Wardenship of the Hospital.[3] The students were allowed to nominate his successor. The Englishmen selected the Jesuit, Father Aggazzari;[4] the nine or ten Welshmen nominated Dr.

[1] Lewis to Allen, March 10, 1579. On Ash Wednesday, he says, he went to the Cardinal "ante lucem", and got him to tell the Pope (Dodd, ii). "Mr. Archdeacon", says the sceptical Haddock, "would make us believe that he procured our return again. But we know he had appointed to have set or to have taken himself the house we dwell in, and had appointed of Scotchmen and Irishmen in our places." (Dodd, ii.) The Cardinal of Como told Lewis that the students did not believe he had sought to get them reinstated, "quod tamen," said Lewis to Allen, "est verissimum." (Dodd, ii, App. lix.) This is the version adopted by the author of *A Brief Discovery*, and by Lewis Owen in his *Running Register*.

[2] Munday relates that when Sherwin explained the grievances of the English students to the Pope, "upon these words the pope started out of his chayre, 'Why' (quoth he) 'I made the hospitall for Englishmen, and for their sake have I given so large exhibition, and not for the Welshmen'." But neither Haddock nor Lewis confirms this version.

[3] "The Cardinall Morone, because Dr. Morris should not lose all his dignity, caused the house to be parted, and so made both a seminarye for the students, and an hospitall for the entertainment of English pilgrims when they came, whereof Dr. Morris continued custos by the pope's appointment." (*English Romayne Life.*)

[4] As early as Jan. 20, 1578, the English students had sent a petition to the Cardinal Protector, "nullum certum hominem petimus, quia absumus in hac causa ab omni humano affectu: solum cupimus. . . . ut res committatur patribus societatis Jesu" . . . (Dodd, ii, App. lx.)

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Bristowe of Rheims.[1] But though the Welshmen's choice was supported by Dr. Lewis, the English students carried their man. Whether the Jesuits had intended, from the start, to capture the College or not, in the result, that was the issue of the dissensions. They had undoubtedly sympathised with the English faction; they had actively supported them; the Welshmen openly accused them of being the root and origin of the mischief.[2] Soon after Dr. Morris left Rome. In 1580, he embarked at Rouen on board a vessel which was bound for Spain. The ship was wrecked, and Dr. Morris was drowned.[3] Once more the Roman Hospital was joined to the College, and the large income of the Hospital went to the support of the Jesuit College.[4] Owen Lewis retired—some said in disgust[5]—to Milan, and there he remained with his friend Cardinal Borromeo for several years. It is quite possible, therefore, that he may have read in MS. Gruffydd Roberts's *Drych Cristionogawl*, which was published by Rhosier Smith in Rouen in 1585.

"Thus was the strife ended," wrote Anthony Munday in his flippant way;[6] but Parsons was wiser in his generation. "Thus you see," he wrote to Allen,[7] "when national dissension is once raised how hard it is to appease it"; and Allen deplored to Lewis[8] the racial strife which he knew was "much greater and much further spread, by that

[1] Lewis to Allen, March 10, 1579.

[2] *Vide* Hugh Griffith's letter to Allen, already cited.

[3] Morris was in Rome in July 1580. (*See* Goldwell's letter to the Cardinal of Como; Theiner: *Annales*, iii, 701; Plowden, *Remarks*, p. 105.)

[4] *V. Dict. Nat. Biog., sub tit.* "Morris Clenocke."

[5] Plowden, *Remarks*, p. 105.

[6] *English Romayne Life*, c. 4.

[7] Knox, *Records*, vol. ii, 74.

[8] May 12, 1579. (Knox, *Records*, ii, 78 *seq.*)

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beginning and root there unluckily planted, than you there can perceive." But neither Parsons nor Allen foresaw the magnitude of the effects of that unlucky conflict. Allen thought it was "so honest a thing"[1] for the students "to have the fathers for their governors." He was of Haddock's opinion that the fathers would bring the Welsh students into order, so that "before it be long" they would have in Rome "place for a hundred, and thereby the gloriousest College of English in the world."[2] He did not agree with Hugh Griffith that the Jesuits had "no skill or experience of our country's state, nor of our men's nature."[3] Nor had he noticed a phenomenon which had impressed the English students, that Welsh ideals and methods in religion were different from their own.[4] The Welsh students at the College were, in the eyes of their English comrades, "*ineptissimi pro seminario*," because they were older in years and more untrained in scholarship than their fellows.[5] The Welsh Rector and his friend the Archdeacon of Hainault may well have thought that

[1] *Ibidem.*

[2] Haddock's letter to Allen, March 9, 1579. (Dodd, ii, App. lix.)

[3] Quoted in Allen's letter to Lewis, May 12, 1579. (Knox, *Records*, ii, 82.)

[4] "Sed tamen (Walli) et lingua, et moribus, et loco habitionis, et natura etiam multum differunt ab Anglis. . . . Itaque Angli et Walli, quoad amorem naturalem, sejuncta religione christiana quam utraque gens profitetur, ita se plane habent et invicem, ut Hispani et Mauri." . . . They complained that Dr. Morris had introduced Welsh students into the college "*qui contrarium spiritum nobis habent, et contrarium finem intentioni suae sanctitatis de sublevanda patria nostra.*" ("Causae quare scholares Angli tantum abhorrent a regimine D. Mauritii," quoted in Dodd's *Church Hist.*, vol. ii, App. No. lix.)

[5] "Nam ut illi augere possent numerum Wallorum in seminario, convocabant illuc ex omni loco et admittebant Wallos sine commendatione et examinatione, nam admiserunt fere senes et ineptos, nulla habita ratione aetatis, aut morum, aut literarum." (*Ibid.*)

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these men, however short they might have fallen of the English standard, were yet admirably suited for mission work among their own countrymen at home. Henceforward there was strife between the Welsh Catholics on the Continent and the Jesuits. Welsh students were looked upon askance, as being breeders of dissension.[1] They were required to attain to the English standard before they were admitted to the seminaries,[2] and as educational advantages were few in Wales, and the people were poor, the number of Welsh students at the Catholic seminaries became less and less, as time went on. Wales was allowed to drift, by almost imperceptible degrees, away from the Catholic faith. In the next century devoted priests

[1] See a remarkable letter sent by Dr. Richard Barrett, of Rheims, in April 1583, to Father Aggazzari, advising him how he should manage the Welsh students, not by contradicting and forcing them to his way, but by seeming to humour them. "Nam (haeretici in Anglia) excitant quantum possunt Wallos contra Anglos, et contra: et in utroque genere hominum incidunt aliquando in eos quos facile est commovere. Walli certe diligentissimi sunt et egregii artifices in hac re. Observant mirabiliter si quis querelam aliquam habeat, aut causam aliquam alienati animi, ut illi putant, a superioribus, cujusmodi res frequentissmae sunt. Hunc aggrediuntur omni humanitate et officio; dant, si opus sit pecunia; invitant ad collationem; nunquam relinquunt; et hoc modo pervertunt saepe multos ex Anglis", etc. (Knox, *Records*, vol. i, 326.) "Parsons", wrote a spy to Cecil in October 1601, "is altogether incensed against the Welsh, and then said that two Welshmen should never be of the College at once during such time as he was Rector, for if there were three they would set the house on fire. His reason for this cause is that Richard Powell, of Millayne, and —— Bennett, now priest in England, curbed him, and made their complaints to the Cardinals of misgovernment of the College." (*State Papers, Dom.*, Eliz., vol. xxxiv: Addenda, n. 42, ii; Foley's *Jesuits*, vi, 738.)

[2] "And one thing mark—that if you send any Welshman, let him be as fit as the others, or else, by any means, hinder him." Haddock to Allen, March 9, 1579.

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trained in the Jesuit schools, such as Robert Jones[1] and Philip Evans,[2] William Morgan,[3] and David Lewis,[4] laboured in various parts of Wales, and with some success.[5] But though the harvest was plentiful, the labourers were few. They had been trained, moreover, after a foreign model and they formed part of an alien organisation. Their system possessed and reflected none of that intense national individuality which has always marked the religious life of Wales. The racial animosity and the sectarian prejudices, so lightly aroused in Rome in 1579, not only paralysed in after years the efforts of the Jesuits to win back England to the Papacy, but they led, in the long result, to Wales being left derelict, until the Puritans came and held before

[1] Robert Jones, "Robertus Hilarius", or Hay, born, 1564, near Chirk, Denbighshire. Alumnus, S. J. at Rome 1582. Succeeded Fr. Holt as Superior of whole order in England 1609. (*V.* Foley's *Jesuits*, vol. iv, pp. 333-561.)

[2] Philip Evans, b. Monmouthshire 1645; educated St. Owen's; entered S. J. 1665. South Wales Mission 1675. Executed (after Oates' plot) July 1679.

[3] William Morgan, 2nd son of Henry Morgan, Flint, b. 1623; entered Engl. Coll., Rome, 1648; S. J. 1651. Professor at Jesuit Coll., Liege, 1661; North Wales Mission 1670. In Oates' list, but escaped to Continent 1679. Rector of Engl. Coll., Rome, 1683. Provincial S. J. 1689; d. St. Omer 1689.

[4] David Lewis, *alias* Charles Baker, b. Abergavenny 1614; Engl. Coll., Rome, 1638; priest S. J. 1642; South Wales Mission 1648; apprehended at Llantarnam for alleged complicity in Oates' plot, and executed at Usk, Aug. 27, 1679.

[5] *V.* Reports of Catholicism in Wales, in Foley's *Jesuits*, vol. iv, p. 441. In 1636, for example, the various missions in South Wales are said to have been attended "with much success", which was attributed "to the greater attachment of the common people to the ancient faith, and to the absence of luxury." In 1641-4 there were said to be twenty-seven fathers and two lay-brothers in the Mission, and 154 conversions are recorded in South Wales. In 1676-7 the return gives only six fathers in South Wales.

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Welshmen a new religious ideal, which, whatever be its defects, had the merit of meeting the spiritual needs and conforming to the distinctive genius of the people of Wales.[1]

III.—The Welsh Opposition to the Jesuits.

The Society of Jesus had been for some time casting longing eyes on the English mission field. The political situation was becoming more and more complex. For many years the Catholics of England had been content to obey Elizabeth as the sovereign *de facto*, if not *de jure*. Most of them were willing to acknowledge her as their rightful Queen. Her natural successor was Mary, Queen of Scots, and Catholics were content at first to bide in patience till Elizabeth was removed by the process of time. But by 1579, Mary had been for eleven years practically a prisoner in Elizabeth's hands. One plot after another for her release had failed; the Ridolfi conspiracy had ended disastrously, and the Duke of Norfolk had lost his head on the scaffold. In vain had the Pope, in 1570, launched his Bull of excommunication against Elizabeth. There was

[1] Plowden, in his *Remarks* (1794, p. 101), states that the first beginning of the feud was caused by the attempt of Dr. Owen Lewis "before the alteration of the English hospital at Rome into a college . . . . in conjunction with his countryman, Dr. Maurice Clenock, to introduce a Welshman, of the name of Price, as fellow into the hospital; and he had been foiled in the attempt through the opposition of the English chaplains of the house. . . . . This petty disappointment was not forgotten when a national quarrel broke out between the English and Welsh students newly admitted into the college." I have, however, found no other reference to this dispute, and know not upon what authority Plowden based his statement.

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no one to enforce it, and Philip of Spain, the most orthodox and devoted Catholic prince of his age, refused to allow the Bull to be published in his dominions. The most Christian King of France was anxious to conclude a political and matrimonial alliance with the heretic Queen. In the meantime England was becoming more and more identified with the Protestant cause. Her political needs drove her to take up a position, which Elizabeth had not sought, of acting as the champion and protector of the Protestant princes and states of Europe. Her expanding trade and her daring sailors brought her into sharp contact with the pretensions of Spain. A new generation was growing up that remembered no other form of worship except that which was established by law. It was no wonder that strenuous and fiery souls should become impatient at the long and weary waiting. They longed to be back once more in the land of their birth; they were conscious of great talents, which they felt should be directed to greater and more enduring objects than intrigue and plot. The conversion of England by prayer and preaching, by moral suasion and lives of self-sacrifice, seemed a dreary if not a hopeless task. By slow stages there emerged two parties or factions among the English exiles on the Continent. The one may be called the "physical force" party, composed of men who were willing to sacrifice the political independence of England on the altar of religion. They were ready to hand over the throne of England to a foreign prince in order that she might be regained to Catholicism. The two most prominent champions of this school were Dr., afterwards Cardinal, Allen—in the last dozen years of his life—and Robert Parsons, the greatest of the English Jesuits. They saw, or thought they saw, that it was only by deposing Elizabeth and subjugating England that the

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Catholic religion could be re-established.[1] Mary Stuart was powerless and a prisoner. The French King was either fighting or conciliating the Huguenots. In either case he was in no state to take in hand the gigantic task of conquering England. Philip of Spain alone remained. He was a bigoted Catholic; he was the most powerful monarch in Europe. His army was the finest military engine in the world; the wealth of the Indies was at his command; his fleets covered every sea. But Philip was not inclined to move as long as Mary Stuart was an effective claimant to the English throne.[2] For thirty years, therefore, Elizabeth was left secure. The English refugees perceived that their one hope of conquering England in their own lifetime was by adopting Philip as their champion. His descent from John of Gaunt was paraded; the fact was recalled that, in Mary's reign, he had been titular King of England. Mary Stuart herself, not long before her death, solemnly disinherited her son for heresy, and made Philip of Spain her heir. For several years before her execution, the Jesuits had worked for the King of Spain; Mary was only used as a convenient tool to further their real designs; and her death was calmly

[1] "Of all the orthodox in the realm there is not one who any longer thinks himself bound in conscience to obey the queen; and we have lately published a book especially to prove that it is not only lawful, but our bounden duty, to take up arms at the bidding of the pope, and to fight for the faith against the queen and other heretics." (Allen to the Pope, 1587-8, quoted in Simpson's *Life of Campion*, p. 377.)

[2] "Yet after the death of the Queen of Scots, both Allen and Parsons sought to stir up the Spanish King, who never could be persuaded to attempt anything against England in her lifetime, objecting that he should travail for others; she being dead, the expectation was increased for the last invasion." Confession of James Young, priest, in 1592 (*State Papers, Dom.*, Eliz., vol. ccxlii, 121). Cf. Neville's letters to Cecil, June 27, 1509 (*Dom.*, Eliz., vol. cclxxi, 29).

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discussed by leading Jesuits as having finally removed the only serious rival from Philip's path.[1]

On the other hand, there was a powerful and numerous band of Catholics who hated the Spaniard and distrusted the Jesuits, who would have no foreign power predominant in England, and who looked to the reclamation of the fatherland by faith and works, by patient zeal, and reliance on the invincibility of truth. Some of them, indeed, were no contemners of carnal weapons. The French and Scotch factions, led by Leslie, the Bishop of Ross, and Thomas Morgan, "of a right worshipful family in Monmouthshire,"[2] the most celebrated conspirator of the age, and the trusty friend and servant of Mary Stuart, were ready to invade and conquer England by armed force, if it would result in the immediate or ultimate elevation of the Queen of Scots to the English throne.[3] But the view of the Welsh Catholics generally

[1] On June 15, 1587, Olivarez wrote to Philip II:—"They (*i.e.*, Allen and Parsons) do their best to convince me that it is not only no loss, but that by her death (of Mary, Queen of Scots) many difficulties had disappeared." Cf. Hume's *Treason and Plot*, p. 13.

[2] *State Papers, Dom.*, Eliz., Jan. 1589-90. *V.* Appx. G.

[3] In the *Spanish State Papers* for 1590 (p. 565), a document is published containing an interesting account of Morgan's career and policy as they appeared to his enemies. The marginal note to A. 9 says:—"He began by sowing discord between her (*i.e.*, the Queen of Scots) and her advisors, and persuaded her that they, and Dr. Allen and the Jesuits, aimed at conquering England and Scotland for the King of Spain under her name, and so succeeded in getting her to forbid anyone to communicate with her, except through Morgan and Chas. Paget. He also introduced division among the English Catholics, being amongst those that maintained that matters might be remedied without the employment of foreign forces, the chiefs of which part are the bishop of Cassano (Dr. Owen Lewis) in Rome and the bishop of Dunblane, and they, with Morgan, persecute Cardinal Allen and the Jesuits and others who wish to reduce England by the forces of His Majesty (of Spain). He (Morgan) frankly confesses that he would be sorry to see his country subjugated by foreigners, and especially Spaniards."

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was against such "enterprises". They believed only in the use of spiritual weapons. They did not care so much to change the government as the religion of England. They aimed at converting, not the ruler, but the people of the country. If the people remained Catholic they cared not if, for the nonce, the State Church was Protestant. They had sufficient faith in their Church to believe that what the last three centuries have shown to be possible in Ireland was also practicable in England, and that the religion of a people was independent of the wishes of their rulers. It is surely no mere chance or hazard that has led the Celts of Ireland and of Scotland, of Cornwall and of Wales, to adopt varying forms of religion, which have only this in common—that none of them is supported or countenanced by the State. And it may well be that that racial instinct led the Welsh Catholics of Elizabeth's time to distrust the use of force, and to combat with energy and with heat the policy of the Jesuit or Spanish faction.[1]

It would be easy to adduce numerous proofs of this essential divergence between the Welsh and the English Nationalist Catholics and the Jesuits.[2] One bit of

[1] Cf. Rhys's *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 227.

[2] It is extraordinary how nearly every Welsh Catholic on the Continent in the latter half of the sixteenth century was ranked among the opponents of the Jesuits. The attitude of Hugh Griffith and Rhosier Smith has already been noted. The part played by Owen Lewis and Thomas Morgan will be dwelt upon again. A Welshman named Bennett was the leader of the anti-Jesuit faction in the Roman College in 1594. But even more obscure Welshmen were opposed to the Society of Jesus: *e.g.*, one of Cecil's spies writes in 1601 of Ithell, a native of the diocese of Llandaff, and a chaplain of Notre Dame, who afterwards (if he be the same as Ishell, chaplain of Notre Dame) helped John Roberts to found the Benedictine College at Douay, "Ithell, about 50 (at Arras), who some time was favoured of the Jesuits, is now hated, only because he will not be as fastidious as they are" (*v.* Foley, vi, 740). The career of

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evidence is worth citing for the interesting glimpse which it gives of Dr. Gruffydd Roberts in Cardinal Borromeo's palace in Milan. Our informant again is Anthony Munday, who called on Dr. Roberts at the end of 1578 on his way to Rome.

> "In the cardinall Boromheo's pallace" he wrote, "wee found the lodging of a Welshman, named doctor Robert Griffin, a man there had in good account and confessor to the aforesayde cardinall. . . . . On Christmasse day wee dined with the doctor Griffin, where wee had great cheere, and lyke welcome. In dinner time he mooved many questions unto us, as concerning the state of Englande, if wee heard of warres towardes, and how the Catholiques thrived in Englande."

Dr. Roberts went on to tell his guest how three Englishmen, who were lodging in the same house with Munday, had designed to invade England, and how the Pope, "even according as they deserved," denied their request and sent them away "without recompense".

> "The Pope", added Gruffydd Roberts, "was not to trust to such as they; he well knowes England is too strong yet, and till the people be secretly persuaded (as I doubt not

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Dr. Parry, "the Jesuit," who made a treasonable speech from his place in the House of Commons, and was hanged for having conspired against the life of the Queen, may appear to contradict this general statement. But Parry seems to have been a man of ill-balanced judgment, and the crime which he confessed to was both mysterious and extraordinary. Though he had designs against the Queen's life, he not only failed to take advantage of opportunities which offered themselves, but he entered Parliament with the avowed object of avoiding the necessity of using physical force by convincing the House by argument. Parry does not appear to have any connection with other Welsh Catholics, though he stated that he had talked over his designs with Morgan in Paris, and he certainly was not connected with any Catholic conspiracy to bring about an invasion of England by a foreign power. *Vide* Froude's *Hist. of Engl.*, xi, 416; *State Trials*, vol. i. For Hugh Owen, the notorious Jesuit and friend of Holt and Parsons, see Appx. H.

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but that there is a good number) and more and more still shall be, by the priestes that are sent over daylie."[1]

Here we have, crudely and imperfectly set down by a hostile hand, the line of policy which was advocated by the Welsh Catholics on the Continent. They wanted England to be "secretly persuaded" by priests, not subdued by soldiers.

In 1579 the "physical force" party was in the ascendant. In May Dr. Nicholas Saunders landed with Spanish troops in Ireland. In September Esmé Stuart, afterwards Duke of Lennox, returned to Scotland, an event which led to the execution of the regent Morton, and the temporary eclipse of the Protestant cause. A volcanic energy was agitating the Catholic world. The Society of Jesus, the most marvellous organisation the world has ever seen, was attracting the most fiery spirits among the English Catholics. Campion, the inspired preacher,—who was soon to seal his testimony with his life,—and Parsons, the man of restless activity and wide-embracing schemes, were already among its members. Allen was well-disposed to it. It was bent on carrying on a Holy War against heretical England. The zeal of the Crusaders animated every member of the Society. Hitherto it had sent no missionaries to the dangerous field of England. While the Secularists could point to their martyrs, the Society of Jesus could point to no such glorious records of work and suffering for the faith in England. It was accused of putting its sickle in other men's harvest, and of enlisting in its ranks Englishmen who did nothing for their faith or their country. Now, however, it determined to monopolise the glory of regaining England to Catholicism. Parsons and Campion were sent to England in 1580. But

[1] *The English Romayne Life*, Harl. Misc., vol. vii.

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it was seen at once that if the Society was to capture the English mission field, it would have to train up priests for the work. The racial feud which broke out in the College at Rome happened opportunely, and the Jesuits took advantage of their chance. Father Parsons, who was in Rome at the time, was not the man to miss the real significance of the Jesuit victory, or the advantages which the Society would derive from the control of the education of the English missionary priests.

During the next eighteen years Father Parsons strove to achieve this object. The College in Rome being in Jesuit hands, the next step was to capture the College at Douay. Dr. Allen, though friendly, was too great a man to be used merely as a tool. It was necessary, therefore, to remove him from his post. At one time Parsons urged that Dr. Allen and Dr. Owen Lewis should be sent with the invading army to England,[1] and with that object in view Dr. Allen was appointed Bishop of Durham. But in 1587 a still better chance offered itself. Parsons had for years been working for the election of an English Cardinal. In 1587—the year before the Spanish Armada—Dr. Allen

[1] Parsons to the Cardinal of Como, 1581. "It would also, we think, be very useful if His Holiness were to summon to Rome Dr. Owen Lewis, Archdeacon of Cambrai, an Englishman who is at Milan, and is very well acquainted with English affairs. If this man were sent from Rome to Spain under some pretext, and so went thence with the army to Scotland to meet Allen, who might start from here, it would be a great help to the cause; for though this Dr. Owen, on account of the differences which have lately arisen between the Welsh and the English, he being a Welshman, does not stand very well with the greater part of the English, nevertheless he is a grave and prudent man. If united to Allen, who possesses the hearts of all, he would be of no small assistance, especially with his countrymen, the Welsh." (*S.P.O., Rom. Transcripts*, vol. xv, No. 477; Taunton's *Jesuits*, 99.) Allen was created Bishop of Durham in 1583, but never accompanied any of the expeditions to Great Britain or Ireland.

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was raised to the Cardinalate, through the forceful insistence of Parsons[1] and the influence of the King of Spain,[2] and in spite of the opposition of the Welsh, Scotch, and French factions.[3] The Cardinal was succeeded in Douay

[1] Allen stated, in a letter to Dr. Bayly, that "under God" he owed his Cardinal's hat to Parsons (Knox, *Records*, ii, p. 299c). "Proxime enim sub coelo pater Personius fecit me Cardinalem."

[2] Knox, *Records*, ii, pp. 253, 270, 292, 293. Taunton's *Jesuits*.

[3] T. C., in his article on Owen Lewis in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, says that "little reliance can be placed on the story quoted by Wood from *The State of the English Fugitives* (1596) to the effect that Lewis, as a strenuous foe of the Jesuits, headed a faction against Allen, or that Lewis and Allen were rival candidates for the cardinalate which fell to the latter." But this was the view, not only of the author of the pamphlet, but of all his contemporaries. The personal friendship between the two men seems never to have been broken or even impaired. Writing to Allen in 1582, Lewis concluded with the pathetic hope, "Quicquid sit, spero (mi Alane) nihil nostram quae jam diu inter te et me intercessit amicitiam interrupturum; nihil enim [me] vel a te vel a collegiis avertet." (Knox, *Records*, ii. 112.) Allen recognised that Dr. Lewis was at that time hostile to his friends the Jesuits, for he writes to Father Aggazzari, "et certo ego plane cuperem D. archidiaconum solide esse collegio ac societatis patribus reconciliatum; scio ejus virtutes et ejus infirmitates: potest esse multum utilis et multum nocere in utramque partem." But though there was no personal rivalry between the two men, it is clear that they were at the head of rival factions. Allen said, a little before his death, after a conversation with Dr. O. Lewis, "Well, Abraham and Lot were both good men, but their shepherds could not agree." (Knox, *Records*, i, c. iii.) It is certain that Lewis was friendly with Leslie, the Bishop of Ross, "whose flattering letters to Queen Elizabeth had given great dissatisfaction" (Plowden's *Remarks*), and with T. Morgan, the arch-enemy of the Jesuits and the Spanish faction, who according to the account given in the *English Fugitives*, did his utmost for Dr. Owen Lewis. Count de Olivares, the Spanish Ambassador at the Papal Court, in a letter to Philip, dated Feb. 22, 1588, states that Lewis was made Bishop of Cassano at the instance of the King of Spain, in order to get rid of him from Rome, but that the Pope had asked him to remain. The relations between Allen and Lewis at this time do not seem to have been very cordial. "Allen", says Olivares, "says that the Bishop causes him no end of

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by Dr. Barrett, and afterwards by Dr. Worthington—two men who were under the influence of Parsons.[1] Several other English Colleges or Seminaries were subsequently founded by the indefatigable Jesuit in various parts of Europe—Valladolid in 1589, Seville and Madrid in 1592, and St. Omer in 1594.

The Society of Jesus, indeed, seemed to have triumphed over all its opponents. It enjoyed a complete monopoly in the training and education of English priests; its two most persistent opponents, Thomas Morgan and Owen Lewis, were powerless to stem the tide of its rising fortunes. Thomas Morgan, after languishing for years in the Bastille, was afterwards imprisoned by the Duke of Parma in Flanders, at the instigation—if we may believe a contemporary writer, who states that he was in Flanders at the time[2]—of the Jesuits. When the death of the Duke opened once more his prison doors, he came out a broken

trouble, because, although he is a man of good life, his ambition and want of tact are terrible." (*Span. State Papers*, p. 212.) For other evidence of Lewis's hostility to the policy of Allen and the Jesuits, see *Dom.*, Eliz., vol. ccxxxix, 87 (A.D. 1592); *Ib.*, 116, vol. ccxlii, 121 (where Lewis is called the agent of the Scottish nation); *Ib.*, 6. It is also certain that, at Allen's death, the Cardinal's friends supported either Parsons or Stapleton, and opposed Lewis. Cardinal Sega, in his Report in 1596, confirms Lewkenor's account. "The Bishop of Cassano", he said, "deeming the intimate relations of Allen with the Fathers of the Society a reflection on himself, proceeded to put himself in opposition to Allen, the Fathers, and the Seminaries, and to form a faction against them. He had no difficulty whatever in gathering partisans both in Rome, in France, Flanders, and elsewhere. . . . . The most conspicuous among these were Aldred, Morgan, Gifford, Gratley, and Fitzherbert." (Foley's *Jesuits*, vol. vi.) *Vide* also Dr. Gifford's Letter, *Cal. S. P., Dom.*, Eliz., cclii, 66; Ely's *Briefe Notes*, 94-6.

[1] See Worthington's letter to Parsons, Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. v, App. p. iv.

[2] Lewkenor's *State of the English Fugitives*.

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man, and retired to Rome, to the house of his old friend, Owen Lewis, now, since 1588, the Bishop of Cassano in Naples.[1] He lingered on for years longer, and was concerned in one or two more plots: but though he was still experienced in "driftes of policy", and ready as ever to give his enemies "a secret blow",[2] his old power and energy were gone. Owen Lewis, though raised to a Neapolitan See in 1588, seems to have lived for the most part in Rome and Milan till Cardinal Borromeo's death in 1594. He was becoming old, and though high in the Pope's favour, and ever mindful of old wrongs done to him and his nation,[3] he had to stand aside while the Jesuits swept onwards in their resistless progress.

Fair as their prospects appeared, there were clouds, as yet no bigger than a man's hand, on the horizon. The Spanish Armada had disastrously failed,[4] and a staggering blow was dealt to the "physical force" party, from which it never wholly recovered. Parsons, however, was not discouraged or dismayed. Few understood at the time how completely the power of Spain was shattered. Parsons in 1594 wrote a book to vindicate Philip's title, as a descendant of John of Gaunt, to the throne of England.[5] His friend, Sir Francis Englefield, two years later, still looked to Spain for deliverance.[6] Cardinal Allen, as he

[1] Lewkenor's *State of the English Fugitives.* [2] *Ib.*

[3] The character given him by W. W. in *A Sparing Discovery* (1601): "A milder man lived not, or one more apt to put up with and forgive all injuries," can hardly be sustained by what is otherwise known of him.

[4] In 1588.

[5] *The Book of Succession.*

[6] Englefield's letter to Philip II. "Without the support and troops of Spain it is scarcely probable that the Catholic religion will ever be restored and established in that country (England). Even the English seminaries, powerful as they are in preparing men's

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came once more into intimate contact with his old friend Owen Lewis, began to draw away from the Jesuit faction. He never actually quarrelled with them, but it is certain that in his last days "he began to leave the path", which was mapped out for him by Parsons.[1] But the greatest source of opposition to the Jesuits was the old feud between them and the Welsh. The racial dissensions which gave the control of the Roman College to the Jesuits in 1579, made its possession no easy sinecure. Father Mush, one of the leaders of the English malcontents in the original trouble, stated in after years that in the seven years he was there he witnessed as many open outbreaks.[2] So bitter was the feud in 1582 that perfervid Hugh Griffith had to be taken away by his uncle "ad salutem juvenis et collegii pacem".[3] One

minds for a change, must fail to complete their object without the aid of temporal force." (Tierney's edition of *Dodd*, vol. iii, 49.) In 1599, Sir Henry Neville wrote to Cecil: "I find there has grown great dissension among our Papists abroad, one faction, of which Parsons is the head, depends on the Jesuits, and wishes the overthrow of our present state by conquest or other means: of the other, consisting chiefly of laymen and gentlemen, Charles Paget is the head, as he would not consent to conquest by a foreign Prince." (*Dom.*, Eliz., 271, 29.)

[1] Father Aggazzari's letter to Parsons on Allen's death: "When he (Allen) began to leave the path, in a moment the thread of his plans and life were cut short together." W. W., in *A Sparing Discovery* (p. 34), says: "The most blessed Cardinall Doctor Allen . . . . in the end passed not untouched by the Jesuites, because in very deede he daily saw further into them then he had done, and therefore not only disliked, but disfavoured divers their proceedings, especially towards his latter end. . . . Upon the death of this so memorable a person they openly triumphed, and . . . sayd that God had taken him away in good time." Cf. Paget's *Answer*, p. 20.

[2] Mush's *Declaratio Motuum*. Cf. Ely's *Briefe Notes*, pp. 73-84.

[3] Letter of Allen to Aggazzari. Knox, *Records*, vol. ii, 112.

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Rector succeeded another,[1] but the disturbances continued. At the death of Allen in 1594 the dissensions were renewed. The leader of the Welsh faction was John Bennett,[2] the author in after days of many anti-Jesuit pamphlets, and one of the most pronounced opponents of the Jesuit policy in the next century.

[1] From 1579 to 1598—when Parsons became Rector for the second time—the Rectorship was held in turn by Aggazzari, Holt, Parsons, Cresswell, Vitelleschi, Fioravanti and Aggazzari (2).

[2] Cardinal Sega's Report (quoted in Foley's *Jesuits*, vol. vi). In addition to Bennett, William Ellis, Erasmus Sanders, Humphrey Hughes, and Richard Powell are mentioned as among the disturbers. One of Cecil's spies, in 1601, stated that "Richard Powell, of Myllayne and —— Bennet, now priest in England, curbed him (Parsons) and made their complaints to the Cardinals of misgovernment of the College." (*Dom.*, Eliz., vol. xxxiv. Addenda.) Among the students' complaints, according to Cardinal Sega, was that "certain libels were circulated of late among the students, which kindled anew the old quarrel between the English and the Welsh." There is no doubt that Hugh Griffith, the leader of the Welsh faction of 1579, was in communication with Edward Bennett during the continuance of the disturbances down to 1598, when Parsons finally appeased the factions. (*V. Archpriest Controversy*, Camden Society, i, 10; Ely's *Briefe Notes*, p. 156; Tierney's *Dodd*, iii, p. lxxx; Taunton's *Jesuits*, 227.) I have assumed that the leader of the Welsh faction was John Bennett, and not his brother Edward, though I have no positive proof of the fact. The two "noble brothers", as they are called by Dr. Gifford, were prominent anti-Jesuits in the "Wisbeach stirs" and the "Appellants controversy". (*V.* Gillow's *Dictionary*; Law's *Conflict of Jesuits and Seculars.*) Dr. Barret, of Douay, in a letter of Sept. 26th, 1596, to Parsons, calls one of the brothers "the greatest dissembler and most perilous fellowe in a communitie that ever I knew." (*Douay Diary*, p. 386.) John Bennett published a pamphlet, *A Censure upon the Letter which Father Parsons writ the 9th of October 1599*; *The Hope of Peace*, which was printed at Frankfort 1601; and other anti-Jesuit publications. In 1621, he was despatched to Rome, as agent of the clergy, to petition the Pope for a bishop. Edward Bennett was nominated in the same year with William Bishop for the episcopate, and, on the death of Colleton, became dean of the Chapter. (Law's *Conflict*, Introduction, p. xxxvi.)

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The Jesuits rightly regarded Owen Lewis as their foremost enemy. Cardinal Sega, in his report on the Roman disturbances in 1596, roundly states that to Lewis "we trace all the quarrels and disturbances of which the College has been the theatre."[1] He was the intimate friend of Thomas Morgan; he was a correspondent of Dr. W. Gifford, afterwards the Archbishop of Rheims, and Primate of France. Gifford, though an Englishman, seems to have had Welsh connections, for we find Thomas Vaughan, of Courtfield—who died of ill-usage at Cardiff in 1641—described as his nephew.[2] Gifford, also, was of the Bishop's faction, and had been introduced into Cardinal Borromeo's household by Dr. Owen Lewis.[3] In 1595, when Gifford was Dean of Lille, we find him writing from the Nuncio's house at Brussels to Throgmorton (another anti-Jesuit)[4] after the publication of Parsons' book vindicating Philip of Spain's title to the English crown.

> "I have made an abstract of Parsons' book", he says, "and given it to the Nuncio, who is mad at Parsons, and bid me write to the Bishop of Cassano, and assure him that Parsons had ruined himself."[5]

In the same year appeared an anonymous pamphlet describing *The State of the English Fugitives* on the Continent. After dividing the exiles into four factions,[6]

[1] *V.* Foley's *Jesuits*, vol. vi. Cf. *A Sparing Discovery*, p. 32.

[2] *V.* Challoner's *Memoirs*; Austin's *Christian Moderator*.

[3] Sega's Report. (Foley, vol. vi.)

[4] *Ib.* Cf. Cecil's list (*Dom.*, Eliz., vol. ccxxxviii, 181).

[5] Hume's *Treason and Plot*.

[6] "The one . . . . pretend to be great statesmen and deepe politicians. There is a second sort, wholy devoted to the following and faction of the Jesuites, serving them as their espials and instruments in whatsoever they imploy themselve. . . . There are others whom the rest generally in derision call by the name of patriots. These indeed . . . . are men of the greatest temper-

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the writer goes on to say :—

> "But above all these there is one over-ruling faction that hath drawn them into mightie partialities and strange extremities one against another. The originall whereof sprong out of the Romish Seminarie between the English and the Welsh; either partie had for favourer and protector a man of great authoritie to which it leaned, Doctor Allen for the one, and Doctor Lewis for the other, a man verie wise and learned, and by reason of his age, gravitie, and long continuance in those parts of great authoritie in the Court of Rome, but always a verie bitter enemie of the Jesuits. In fine each nation with all vehemencie laboured for the presidentship and superioritie one over the other."[1]

The writer then goes on to describe how inveterate was the racial feud which was kindled in 1579, and how it had survived till 1595. A letter which Parsons wrote in July 1598 to Father Garnet confirms this estimate of the far-reaching effects of the rebellion of the English students against Dr. Morris of Clynog.

> "A third cause also there was", he says, dealing with the continued disturbances in the College, "no lesse important perhaps than any of the rest, or more than both together, which was a certayne disgust given at the first foundacion of the colledge unto a certayne principall man of our nation and his friends then resident in Rome, who afterwards . . . was ever eyther in Re or in opinion a backe unto them that would be discontented, to which was adjoyned in these latter yeres (as appereth by their own writings) another fountain of fomentacon ffrom fflaunders that nurished this humor and wrought much woe to the college wholy."[2]

Parsons afterwards stated that he would never allow

ance and best behavior, who howsoever they are in religion contrarily affected, yet you shall never heare them speake unreverently of her Majestie. . . . But of the rest, the fourth and last are the best fellowes, for they flie but a very low pitch, being men utterly voide both of learning, wit, and civilitie" (pp. 48-9).

[1] *Ib.*, p. 50.

[2] Parsons' letter to Garnet, July 12 and 13, 1598. *Archpriest Controversy*, Camden Society, i, 27.

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two Welshmen to remain together in the College at Rome "during such time as he was Rector, for if there were three they would set the house on fire."[1] And as late as 1626, when Lewis Owen, the spy, published his *Running Register*,[2] it is plain that his Welsh sympathies embittered and envenomed every reference to the Jesuits, while his account of Owen Lewis and the other Welshmen is always friendly, if not flattering.

It was small wonder that, when Allen died in 1594, the rival factions should have fought for the vacant Cardinal's hat. Owen Lewis, who had once before been baulked in his ambition, entered into the struggle with a keenness which was neither edifying nor dignified.[3]

[1] *Dom.*, Eliz., vol. xxxiv. Addenda.

[2] Lewis Owen was probably a native of Merioneth (*vide* the dedication to his *Unmasking of all Popish Monks*). He entered Christ Church, Oxford, in 1590, at the age of 18. He left without a degree and entered the Society of Jesus at Valladolid. (*Athen. Oxon.*, Wood, ii, 480, though his name does not appear on the books.) He seems, however, to have taken an intense dislike to the Jesuits, which was probably accentuated by the hostility of John Roberts to the Society. He was in Valladolid in 1605, in Rome (as a spy) in 1610, and in Switzerland in 1612. He was acquainted with French, Italian, and Spanish, and in his books (*Running Register*, 1626; *Unmasking of all Popish Monks*, etc., 1628; *Speculum Jesuiticum*, 1629) he is not ashamed to avow the real nature of his profession. He died in 1629. As he published a book called *Catholique Traditions* in 1609, it may be inferred that he was not a spy at that date.

[3] *V.* Lewis's letter to Dr. Humph. Ely in 1595 (Ely's *Briefe Notes*, p. 95). As early as 1589, Lewis was angling for the Cardinalate. He, or Morgan on his behalf, sent the Carthusian Prior (John Arnold), "a Welshman", to persuade King Philip II to procure his promotion to that dignity (*Dom.*, Eliz., ccxliii, 6). After showing how the Bishop had despatched the Bishop of Dunblane to Scotland, and how the Scotch wished for nothing for themselves just then, Arnold went on to say: "In the meantime they (*i.e.* the Scotch) only ask your Majesty to forward and promote your Bishop of Cassano, and that you will not rest content until they have made him a Cardinal, in

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Parsons and the Jesuits did their utmost to defeat his candidature.[1] The action of forty-three of the students at the Roman College in 1594 did not tend to lessen their opposition. The students sent a respectful supplication to Dr. Lewis, deploring the want of bishops or ordinaries in England, and insisting on the importance of the distribution of faculties being placed in the hands of impartial and experienced persons conversant with English affairs, but above all not in the hands of the Jesuits. They finally implored Dr. Lewis to take the duty on himself.[2] Cajetan, the Cardinal Protector of the College, seconded their petition to the Pope. The petition was unsuccessful,

which position he will be the more powerful to serve your Majesty. There is no man in and out of England of English birth so worthy, learned, virtuous, and dexterous in managing matters of importance as he is. Since he was exiled twenty-eight years ago for his faith he has always been employed in the ruling of dioceses and provinces." (*Spanish State Papers*, May 26, 1589, pp. 542-3.)

[1] Lewis's letter to Dr. Ely, in 1595 (Ely's *Briefe Notes*, pp. 95-6). "We have lost our good Cardinal Allene. He made me executor of his will with three Cardinalls, and we ever have been frends, though some evill disposed did seeke to seperat us for their owne gaine and ill purposes. And now there is such a stincking stirre in Flanders, Spaigne and Rome, to make Father Parsons Cardinall, and so by consequente to exclude me, that it is allmost incredible. But yet it is so, thoughe it be lick to have no effect, but the discovering of Ambition, the blotting of that blessed Religion, and discord among our nation and persecution against me least I step before and stand betwene them and the fire. The doers of this are but two or three of our nation, which tumble all up and downe. All the rest, best and wisest, do love and honor me. And in this Court it is merveilled at of strangers high and low. They say I am an Italian, that I passe not for the Nation, that I am Britannus and not verus Anglus. That I will never returne into Inglande if it weare Catholick: false impudent lies and slanders . . . . Indeed I am 61 yeres old, and am not therefore like to see Ingland . . . . I seeke not to be Cardinall, because I know not, *An ille status expediet et saluti animae meae conveniat*."

[2] *Vide* Law's *Conflict*, Introduction, p. xxix.

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but it showed Parsons the danger that threatened the Society from the settled hostility of the Bishop of Cassano, and made him more determined than ever to oppose his elevation to the College of Cardinals. Sixtus V did not fill the vacancy, but his successor, Clement VIII, decided to offer the Cardinal's hat to Dr. Lewis. Before the Consistory, at which the formal election would take place, could be held, the Bishop died, in October 1595, having just missed attaining the summit of his ambition. Death once more had come to the aid of the Society. The last obstacle in Parsons' way seemed to have disappeared. He was left, the one strong man among the Catholic exiles—bold, daring, experienced, a firm friend and a bitter foe. Another disturbance in the Roman College gave Parsons a unique opportunity of displaying his tact and power. He called the malcontents together, he reasoned with some and expostulated with others. His knowledge of men and affairs gave him a dominant advantage over the callow and inexperienced youths. They were charmed by his courteous manners, his sweet reasonableness, and his tactful sympathy. They gladly yielded to his persuasions, and Parsons won a signal personal triumph. In 1598 he was appointed, for the second time, Rector of the College, a position which he filled till his death in 1610.

IV.—The Benedictine Revival.

Parsons, in 1598, occupied a strong and seemingly impregnable position. His old foes were dead or broken; he was in Rome, holding an important office, and possessing the ear of the Pope and the Cardinals' College. He was trusted by the King of Spain, and could always depend on his support in an emergency. He was the founder of most

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of the English Colleges on the Continent; Douay was under Jesuit influence; he himself was Rector of the Roman seminary. The avenue to the English mission field lay through the Society of Jesus. One thing more was wanted. The English students at Rome had deplored, in 1594, the lack of Bishops in England. Parsons decided on a daring and novel experiment. In March 1598, he induced the Pope to appoint Father George Blackwell, a man entirely under his influence, Archpriest over the Catholic clergy in England. It is not for a Protestant writer to dwell on the embittered controversy which followed—a controversy whose merits are still to some extent in issue among modern Catholics. The "Wisbeach stirs", or the dissensions which broke out in 1595 between the Jesuit prisoners at Wisbeach Castle and the Secular priests who were their fellow-prisoners, were now repeated and emphasised in the "Archpriest controversy", which finally led to the famous appeal to Rome of the Secular clergy against the domination of the Jesuits. All that need be recorded of these squabbles here is that the Welshmen engaged in either dispute were invariably arrayed against the Jesuits.[1]

But these efforts of the Welsh Catholics, consistent and long-continued though they were, would probably have

[1] *E.g.*, in addition to the two Bennetts, Roger Cadwallador, who was afterwards hanged, in 1610, at Leominster, was one of the "appellants" in 1600. One of the most interesting of the Wisbeach prisoners was Jonas Meredith, one of the leaders of the Welsh faction in the Roman College in 1579. (*Dom.*, Eliz., ccxli, 26; *ib.* 1596; *ib.* cclvi, 91.) Meredith, was committed to prison in 1586, and opposite to his name, Thomas Philipps wrote "worthy to be hanged". (*Dom.*, Eliz., cxcv, 72, Dec. 1586). He must have been arrested almost immediately upon landing in England, for earlier in the year Thomas Rogers wrote to Walsingham from Paris: "Morgan and Paget have sent Jonas Meredith, at the Queen of Scots' expense, to Rome to salve their credit, impaired by Arundel and his party. He sent articles to

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been ineffectual, but for the revival of the English Benedictine Order in the early years of the seventeenth century, The life and labours of John Roberts, monk and martyr, have at last received something like due recognition at the hands of Catholic historians,[1] though none of them seems to have realised how far racial feelings and prejudices dictated his course of action.

John Roberts was born in 1575 in Trawsfynydd in Merionethshire. At St. John's College, Oxford, he was contemporary with two men who afterwards became famous ecclesiastics. One of them was John Jones, who was born in the same year as Roberts, in Llanfrynach in Brecknock, and who was afterwards known "in religion" as Father Leander. The other was Jones's room-mate,[2] William Laud, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Another of his contemporaries (and probably a friend[3])

get Meredith into the Inquisition." (*Dom.*, Eliz., vol. xxix, p. 167, Add.) Meredith seems to have escaped the Inquisition only to be imprisoned in England. In 1588, Anthony Bacon begged for his release from Walsingham. "Powel and Jonas Meredith of Wales," he wrote, "prisoners only for religion". (*Dom.*, Eliz., vol. xxx, p. 251, Add.) But Meredith was not released, for he is mentioned as being at Wisbeach in 1592. *Vide* also *S. P. O., Dom.*, Eliz., vol. ccxxxviii, No. 181.

[1] *Vide e.g.*, Bede Camm's Life; *Downside Reveiw*, vol. xiv, 44, *seq.*; Taunton's *English Benedictines*.

[2] He is mentioned as Laud's "chamber-fellow" in Laud's trial (*Works of Laud*).

[3] Baker probably knew Leander Jones—for Llanfrynach is not far from Abergavenny. It is certain that they were, in after life, intimate friends. As Leander was in the same College as John Roberts, and a room-mate of Laud's, it is more than probable that the four were familiar at the University, though the three were senior in academical standing to John Roberts. Roberts matriculated at St. John's in 1595; Leander Jones in 1591; Baker in 1590. Leander, however, became Fellow of the College, and was in residence when Roberts matriculated. In spite of their English surname, the Bakers of Abergavenny were an old Welsh family. Their original name was

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at Oxford was David Baker, also born in 1575 at Abergavenny, where his father was Lord Abergavenny's steward.

It is curious, and not altogether unprofitable, to reflect what influence these four friends exercised on each other's subsequent careers. They were, all four, men of great capacity and profound learning. As yet they were Protestants in name, but Catholic in feeling and sympathy.[1] Though outwardly conforming, they became suspects even in Oxford, tolerant though the University has ever been of any leaning towards Rome. Leander Jones was sent down from the University on suspicion of being a Catholic. Soon afterwards, in 1596, he met Father Gerard,[2] the celebrated Jesuit, who effected his conversion. He sailed for the English College which had recently been established by Parsons at Vallodolid, but on the way out he changed his mind,[3] and upon landing in Spain he joined the Benedictine Order.

John Roberts[4] and David Baker left Oxford to study

Sitsilt (Cecil), and they were descended, like Sir W. Cecil, from Robert Sitsilt, of Alltyrynys. Roger Sitsilt married Anne, the daughter of Sir John Scudamore, and the granddaughter of Owen Glyndwr. Their son Thomas adopted the name of Baker. (*V. Book of Golden Grove*, c. 655.) Father Augustine Baker was therefore eighth in descent from the illustrious Welsh patriot.

[1] The *Liber Primi Examinis* of Valladolid, states that John Jones "venit huc 13 Decembris 1596, natus in comitatu Herefordiensi honestis parentibus . . . . studuit Oxonii . . . . ipse etiam semper corde catholicus". (*V.* Camm's *Bened. Martyr.*, p. 286.)

[2] Father Gerard at the time was a prisoner in the Chink.

[3] The story goes that while on board the vessel he saw a vision which induced him to join the Benedictines. But the story cannot be entirely accepted, for Leander arrived at Valladolid in Dec. 1596, and only joined the Benedictines in 1598.

[4] Lewis Owen's *Running Register*. Roberts was only two years in Oxford, and therefore left in 1597. Baker commenced eating his dinners at Lincoln's Inn (removing thence to the Temple) a year or two previously.

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law in the London Inns of Court. Roberts is described as "a lawyer's clerk in Furnivall's Inn",[1] and it would not seem, therefore, that he intended to be called to the Bar. In 1598, while on a visit to Paris, he, like his friend Leander Jones, was converted by the Jesuits. Thence he proceeded to the College at Valladolid.[2] It was not long, however, before he conceived the same aversion to the Society of Jesus as nearly all the Welshmen of that age seem to have entertained. Lewis Owen, the spy,[3] tells the story with dramatic vividness:[4]—

> "In the latter end of Queen Elizabeth there was but one English monk living in the world (as the Papists themselves do report). . . . And therefore many of the English fugitives, residing in forraine countries (who were in great hopes to have a full restauration of their religion after the Queen's decease), viz., Dr. Gifford, now Archbishop of Rheims in France, Dr. Bagshaw, Dr. Smith, Dr. Stephens, and many other Secular Priests (who were of a faction against the Jesuits) consulted together how to oppose and withstand their ambitious encroachments and usurping authoritie. . . . They solicited many of the English students that then lived in any of the English colleges or seminaries in those foreign parts to become religious monks of the Order of St. Benet. . . . Whereupon one John Roberts, who . . . . was then a student at the English College at Valladolid, by the perswasions of these men, went out of the same college. . . . ."

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[1] Lewis Owen's *Running Register*.

[2] Roberts entered the College at Valladolid on Oct. 18th, 1598.

[3] It is certain, from internal evidence, that Lewis Owen was friendly disposed to his countryman John Roberts. Dom. Bede Camm, and Taunton, assume that the pedigree of John Roberts, of Llanfrothen, given in Lewis Dwnn's Heraldic Visitation is that of the Benedictine monk's father, and that John Roberts's son-in-law (the husband of his daughter Blanche) Cadwallador Owen is identical with Lewis Owen, the spy. The assumption is, as will be seen by reference to the Appendix, ill-founded.

[4] Lewis Owen's *Running Register*, which contains a very full and detailed account of the incident.

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It is perhaps impossible now to discover how far Dr. Gifford and the rest were directly responsible for the severance of John Roberts's connection with the Jesuits. The probabilities are strongly in favour of the statement which is roundly made by Lewis Owen. We know that Dr. Gifford was keenly opposed to the Jesuits.[1] Dr. Smith, as we have seen, was bitterly detested just about this time by Parsons.[2] The Jesuits themselves looked upon the English fugitives in Flanders as "a fountayne of fomentacon",[3] and later on Parsons ascribes the foundation of the Benedictine College at Douay to anti-Jesuit machinations.[4] The fact that the two Oxford Welshmen —Roberts and Leander Jones—should have left the Jesuits and joined the Benedictine Order about the same time[5] is surely not without significance.

Upon leaving the College, Roberts took refuge in a Benedictine Abbey close by. The Jesuit fathers pursued him with complaints against his character. He was accused of heinous sins, and the Abbot who had sheltered him became alarmed. Roberts assured him that the charges were false, and that his accusers would receive him back in the College with open arms if he were willing to return. He was bidden to put his assertion to the test.

[1] *Vide, e.g.*, Owen's *Running Register*, and Gifford's letter to Throgmorton on March 10th, 1595, which has already been cited. Gifford had gone to Rome as Allen's chaplain when the latter was raised to the Cardinalate in 1587, and had been introduced into Borromeo's household by Dr. Owen Lewis.

[2] *Dom.*, Eliz., vol. xxxiv; Addenda, n. 42, ii.

[3] Parsons to Father Garnet, July 12th, 1598. *Archpriest Controversy*, Camden Society, i, 27.

[4] *Add. MSS.* Brit. Museum, no. 21,203, folio 16, quoted in Law's *Jesuits and Seculars*, cxxv.

[5] Roberts joined the Order of St. Benedict at Valladolid in 1599; Leander in October of the same year at St. Marin's Abbey, Compostella.

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He did so, and was welcomed back with gladness. The Abbot was convinced that Roberts had been traduced, and when he fled once more from the College, the Abbey gates were thrown open to him, and he was admitted into the Order of St. Benedict. Presently the Benedictines determined to send missionaries to England.

> "Whereof Father Roberts was the first that had his mission from the Pope . . . which made him not a little proud that hee should be a second Augustine Monke to convert and reconcile his countrymen to the Roman Anti-Christ. . . . . At length (having obtained, or at least usurped—for he was of an aspiring spirit—the title of a Provincial[1] of the English Benedictine Monks then resident in England, who were not many) he became very famous among the English Papists."[2]

But the revival of the Benedictine Order in England was soon seen to be impossible so long as all the English Seminaries on the Continent were in the hands of the Jesuits. Roberts, therefore, with that instinctive tendency to found a college which marked the Welsh Catholics of that age as well as the Welsh Protestants of our day, determined to establish a Benedictine Seminary at Douay. One of the men who directed his attention to this work was John Ithell, a Welshman, who was a chaplain of Notre Dame.[3] Among his most powerful supporters were Dr. Gifford, Dean of Lille, and his old college contemporary, Leander Jones. In 1605 the Benedictine College

[1] The title of "Provincial" was only used at a later date, and John Roberts never actually assumed it (*v.* Taunton's *English Benedictines*, vol. ii), but John Roberts probably exercised authority over the other Benedictine monks in England.

[2] Lewis Owen's *Running Register*, p. 89.

[3] He is probably identical with the "John Ishell" who is sometimes mentioned in Catholic writings. Ithell was a native of the diocese of Llandaff, and was ordained in 1581. Foley, vi, 740; Welldon's *Notes*; Taunton's *English Benedictines*.

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of St. Gregory's at Douay was opened. The effect was great and far-reaching, if we may accept the conclusions of modern Catholic writers.

> "The securing of the foundation of the monastery", according to Mr. Edmund Bishop,[1] "was the breaking, the breaking beyond the hope of repair, of the net that with steady, long skilled, and inexorable hand, was being drawn round the clergy to render them helpless captives."

"The establishment of St. Gregory's once for all broke down", says the most recent historian of the English Benedictine Order,[2] "the monopoly hitherto existing, and by degrees the Clergy emancipated themselves;" and the same writer goes on to say that

> "in the well-nigh three centuries that have passed since its foundation, St. Gregory's can point to a past, taken all in all, such as many an ancient abbey might envy."[3]

That the revival of the Benedictine Order, and the establishment of St. Gregory's, were the culmination and final embodiment of the Welsh protest against the Jesuit policy is clear. Immediately Parsons heard of the project of founding the College at Douay, "he drew up a memorial setting forth, as usual, the crimes of his adversaries. They were men, he said, who were notorious for their share as students in the rebellions and disorders of the Roman College. They had entered among the Benedictines only to vex and oppose the Jesuits. They had, in England, sided with the Appellants (*i.e.*, in the Arch-priest controversy), they were in treaty with an heretical Government, and one of them at least had defended the oath of allegiance."[4]

[1] *Downside Review*, vol. xvi, p. 34.

[2] Taunton's *English Benedictines*, ii, 67.

[3] St. Gregory's, Douay, was the predecessor and parent of St. Gregory's, Downside.

[4] Quoted in Law's *Conflict of Jesuits and Seculars*, cxxv.

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When we remember that "the rebellions and disorders of the Roman College" were due to the Welsh and English feud, that the Bennetts—the leaders of the Welsh faction at Rome in 1594-6—were active supporters of the appellants, that the two most prominent of the Benedictine converts were Roberts and Leander Jones, and that they were also mainly responsible for the establishment of St. Gregory's, it will be easy to understand the settled aversion of Parsons to Welsh students at the College at Rome. Nor can there be any doubt that the Benedictines were opposed to the employment of physical force for the conversion of England. Lewis Owen, the spy, was perhaps at this time in the inner counsels of the monks. His baseness had not been discovered, and he was likely, as the fellow-countryman and neighbour of John Roberts, to be entirely trusted. In his *Unmasking of Popish Monks* he says[1]:—

> "Although our new upstart English Benedictine monks would have the world believe that their Order first planted the Christian religion in this land, and that the monks of their Order were ever godly and religious men, and therefore not to be ranked with the Jesuits, who are great Statesmen, for they (good monks) meddle not with matters of state, or with king's affaires."

John Roberts had done much, but there was one thing which he had omitted to do. There was only one Benedictine monk left in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century, one Buckley, called in religion Father Sigebert,[2] and perhaps himself a Welshman. He was the sole survivor of the Westminster Congregation, the

[1] P. 12: (published in 1628).

[2] It is not known where Sigebert Buckley was born. In the list of Wisbeach prisoners he is allocated to Staffordshire, but that may have only indicated that he was ministering in that county. The Buckley family in North Wales gave one or two of its members to the work of Catholic propaganda.

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last representative of the oldest Order, the repository of its storied past, and the link which kept unbroken the succession from Augustine of Canterbury. Curiously enough, it was again a Welshman that came to the rescue—David Baker, of Abergavenny, the friend and contemporary of John Roberts and Leander Jones at Oxford.[1] After leaving the University, Baker was called to the Bar. His uncle, his mother's brother, Dr. David Lewis, was one of the Judges of the Admiralty, and Baker himself became Recorder of his native town. Being converted to Catholicism, Baker abandoned his profession and gave himself up to a life of prayer and meditation. He became known for the rigour of his ascetism, and for the depth of his historical learning. Coming across Buckley, his legal training enabled him to realise the importance of maintaining the succession of the Order of St. Benedict in England unbroken. On November 21, 1607, two secular priests and novices—Sadler and Maihew —were received by Father Sigebert as members of the Benedictine Order, and shortly after David Baker was admitted by the old monk. This gave the Order a very real advantage over its rivals. It could now claim descent from the original converters of England. It made it a national English institution. It was henceforward no

[1] Baker's mother was a daughter of Lewis ap John, the Vicar of Abergavenny. Baker was educated at Christ Church Hospital, London, and Broadgates Hall College, Oxford. He matriculated in 1590; in 1597 he entered Clifford's Inn and the Inner Temple. In early life he was irreligious, and it was only a sudden shock, caused by a narrow escape from death, that turned his thoughts to religion. He was reconciled to the Catholic Church by a priest named Richard Lloyd. In 1619 he went to Rheims, where he was ordained by Gifford. He wrote *Apostolatus Benedictorum in Anglia* in English, and Father Leander turned his notes into Latin. He was the author of several other works, dealing with ascetism and the history of his Order. He died of the plague in London in 1641.

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mere foreign body, owing allegiance to alien ecclesiastics. It was an English Order, and, as such, ready and willing to obey the sovereign in temporal matters. It had its roots in the past, and its history was the history of religion in England. Fantastic and unreal as such a conception may appear to be to Protestants who appeal to the individual conscience and not to tradition and the authority of the Church, it was one of vital moment and direct significance to men whose every instinct and training had taught them to attach the gravest weight to such considerations. It is not a mere coincidence that in these memorable matters the Jesuits should have been thwarted and checked by the efforts of Welshmen.[1] Their educational monopoly, and their pre-eminence in England, were irreparably shattered by the timely revival of the Benedictine Order; and that revival was primarily and mainly due to the energy and foresight of the Welsh Catholics. At first, no doubt, the hostility of the Welsh to the Society of Jesus was based

[1] The part which Father Augustine Baker played in the preservation of the succession of the English Benedictine Order has not been always understood by Catholic writers. Sweeney, in his Life of Baker, disagrees with Father Cressy's statement (*Life of Baker*) that Baker was "the chief instrument in bringing about the restoration of the English Congregation. He was in Italy at the time that Father Preston and Beech were active in their labours for this end. He was not admitted to profession nor aggregated till some time after Fathers Sadler and Maihew" (p. 25). The statement of facts is correct, but Taunton (*English Benedictines*, ii, 72-8) has shown that it was "Baker who had first conceived the idea of the continuation of the ancient English Benedictine line. . . . In spite of difficulties and delays, Baker was destined to be the sole direct link, by immediate profession, between the old Congregation and the new." Father Augustine himself has told how he first conceived the idea by picking up "an old printed *Turrecremata* upon owr rule . . . . among the booksellers of Duck Lane." (Quoted in Allanson's MS. *History of the English Congregation*, and printed by Taunton, vol. ii, pp. 74-5.)

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for the most part on personal considerations. But as time went on, and the policy of the Jesuits developed under the forceful guidance of Aquaviva and Parsons, that opposition became more enlightened and dispassionate. Welshmen could not and did not forget the part which the Jesuit Fathers had played in the racial feud which had broken out in the Roman College in 1579. Nor can it be supposed that they were oblivious of the fact that Elizabeth Tudor had Welsh blood in her veins. Just as the Bishop of Ross and the Bishop of Dunblane[1] always supported the pretensions of the Stuarts to the succession of the English throne, whether their representative were Catholic or Protestant, so the Welsh Catholics insisted that the English sovereign should be a descendant of the Tudors, whatever his religion might chance to be. This racial affection for the Cymric dynasty gave point and force to the vaguer feeling of distrust of an armed invasion and hatred of Spanish rule, which was entertained by men like Gruffydd Roberts and Thomas Morgan. As long as Owen Lewis lived, he was looked upon as the embodiment of this feeling and the leader of the Welsh Catholics on the Continent. When his followers were left, at his death, with no effective opponent to Parsons, the genius of three Welshmen raised an insuperable obstacle to Jesuit ambition by reviving the Benedictine Order.

Long and glorious though its traditions were, it could not rival, however, the Society of Jesus, in recent achievements. While the Order of Benedict was represented by a few old and broken monks, the vigorous Society of Ignatius was sowing the land of Britain with the blood of martyrs. From the death of Campion the Jesuits were looked upon as the most devoted and self-sacrificing of the

[1] *Vide English Fugitives*, p. 51 ; Froude's *Hist. of England.*

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Catholics. The Benedictines had a great history, but they had no modern martyrs. The culminating glory of John Roberts's services to his faith came in 1610. He had been four times imprisoned in England, but he had always been released through the intercession of highly-placed friends. He had been expelled in 1606, but four years later he took his life in his hands and returned. He was arrested not long afterwards in Holborn, over against Chancery Lane, and on December 8 he was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn. The founder of St. Gregory's became its proto-martyr.[1] He not only sealed his testimony with his blood, but he opened a new and noble chapter in the annals of his Order. His successor as Prior of St. Gregory's was Father Leander, whose name, says a modern writer, "will ever be illustrious in the annals of the English Benedictines as one of their greatest men—one who was a lover of his brethren and of his country."[2] For over twenty years he remained Prior of St. Gregory's, and professor of Theology and Hebrew at the University of Douay. In 1634 he came over to England upon the invitation of his old friend and room-mate at St. John's, who had by this time become Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud was anxious, if possible, to secure Catholic re-union by reconciling the Church of England with the Church of Rome. To many earnest and sincere minds such a consummation seemed feasible at the time. No one could be expected to have greater influence with Laud than his old friend Leander Jones; no one could be found with a more conciliatory temper or with a finer sense of the limits to which concession could go. The

[1] George Gervaise is the only monk of the O.S.B. who is mentioned as having been martyred before Roberts. Gervaise died in 1608; Roberts in 1610. (Pollen's *Acts of the Martyrs*, 381.)

[2] Taunton's *English Benedictines*, ii, 161.

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last service which Father Leander did to his Church was to endeavour to arrange the terms of re-union.[1] Before a reconciliation was, or could be, brought about Leander Jones breathed his last, in London, in December 1635.[2] With him perished the last hope of Laud. Events were marching rapidly. The tide of Puritanism was rising day by day. It had even then reached the shores of Wales. William Wroth, of Llanfaches, was preparing to found the first Puritan Church in Wales, in the heart of Catholic Monmouth.[3] Vavasour Powell was soon to begin his labours in the Marches, which were then the most Catholic part of England and Wales. The fiery eloquence of Walter Cradock, which was destined to kindle strange fires in Denbigh and Flint, the nursery of Catholic saints and martyrs, was already stirring the unawakened conscience of Welshmen at Cardiff. Christopher Love, who was in after years to fall a victim to the stern justice of Cromwell, was sitting at the feet of the dreamy mystic, William Erbery, the Vicar of St. Mary's, Cardiff. The death of Father Augustine Baker in 1641 closed this most interesting chapter in the history of Wales. Other Welshmen after him died in the old faith; but he was the last Welsh Catholic who played a large part in the history of Catholicism in England. For some time to come Welshmen remained as sheep without a shepherd. The Great Rebellion left few living witnesses to the ancient religion of Wales; the restored Monarchy,

[1] For an account of the negotiations, *see* Taunton's *English Benedictines*, ii, 118-161.

[2] He is said to have died "hated by none but by the puritans and jesuits". (*Athenae Oxonienses*, ii, 604. Bliss edition.)

[3] Though Wroth began to preach in the Puritan fashion about 1630, he did not actually start a dissenting cause until 1639. (Rees' *History of Protestant Nonconformity* in Wales, p. 41.)

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while it sent Philip Evans, the Jesuit, to the scaffold, left Vavasour Powell, the Puritan, to rot in the Fleet Prison. But the light that was kindled by the early Puritans in Wales was never extinguished. It was fanned into fierce flame by the Methodist Revival of the eighteenth century. For a century and a-half Wales has been as uncompromisingly Protestant as it was once devotedly Catholic.

It is not my function—even if it were possible—to adjust praise or blame, to judge, and still less to condemn. I have endeavoured to place the facts, not so much on record—for that has already been done—as in their proper setting. It would not become a Protestant writer to take sides in Catholic controversies, or to decide between the Jesuits on the one hand and the Welsh Catholics on the other. But Welshmen cannot, at least, be denied the satisfaction of pointing out, not only that the Welsh policy has been justified in our own days,[1] but that even in those far-off days of trial and exile, their countrymen allowed no personal regrets for the land of their birth, no sense of injustice at their undeserved exile, no resentment at the torture and execution of some of their noblest compatriots, no impatient anger at the waste of their lives, to dim their faith in the final inevitable triumph of truth, or to lessen their regard for the freedom of the little nation from which they were sprung, and the larger kingdom with which they had been incorporated.

[1] See, for example, the answers of Father Vaughan, S.J., in his recent action against the Rock Newspaper Company, reported in *The Times* of June 4, 1902. Cf. Simpson's *Life of Campion*, p. 343; Froude, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. xi, c. 63; Macaulay's *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. i, pp. 355 *seq.* Law's *Conflict of Jesuits and Regulars* (Introduction).

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Y gof du[illegible] gyma dy uaith. onide dos
ymaith. med gwyr caer Gybi ymmon.
mae'n da gennyf fedru onid bigo
clwean newyddion ond [illegible]mis syd gennyt
fy o gelfyddyd, ni ellir pigo clwean
y inquisition o Richard. ai mae gobaith
Urbain [illegible] llen n stwr ar [illegible] hirion

APPENDIX A.

The facsimile which is given opposite represents the only known specimen of the handwriting of Dr. Gruffydd Roberts. The very existence of the letter[1] has hitherto been unsuspected. The publication of the facsimile may, it is hoped, lead to the identification of other MSS. in the same handwriting. This letter was written in 1596, when Dr. Roberts must have attained a good old age.

APPENDIX B.

EXTRACT FROM *S. P. Dom.*, ELIZ., VOL. CCLXIX, 27 (1598), a letter sent by an English spy to Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State.

"The effect of the paper booke which D. Smyth sendeth to such purposes and therein intituleth the King of Spain to the Crowne of England in a slight manner but principally because he is the Catholic prince alledginge what controversie ther hath alwaies bene betweene the English and Welsh and that it was formerlie their inheritaunce but by trecherie driven out of the countrey unto mountaynes woods and wyldernes and by that meanes lost all ther priveleges and auncient Customes [yea and the kingedome][1] and that they might not put ther children to scole [nor learne any trade but lyve as villeaynes though yt was their owne ineeritaunce][2] and diverse such like inconveniences and therefore they would be rather desirouse of any foriner prince then of that nation that thereby every man might be rewarded accordinge to his Desert and not by favor for that Spanish would be learned of the Welsh as the English. He ys altogether against the King of Scots and would not have the Scot succeed because the English doe altogether understaunde their language. He thought to have dictated his booke [to] the King of Spain but I doe think I have geven him a Caveat for beinge to bould in such enterprises and therefore should keepe his hande from paper to write any such appologies which he promised

[1] *S. P. Dom.*, Eliz., vol. cclvii, 97. [2] Interlineated in MS.

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not to doe, uppon those reasons and circumstances as I shewed him. He and I conferred of diverse points in conclution and in his hart he desired that England after the decease of her Majestie might be governed by populer state and not referred unto the hands of eyther Spain France or other for[eign power] then yt would be well governed and so brought example of diverse states in Italie provided alwayes that liberty of conscience might be graunted, upon that condicion and proviso that my self [sayth he] woulde be one to drawe the Jesuetes out by the eares if they would not goe of their owne accord uppon proclamacion made and then every man should be sworne for his allegeance and loyaltie, for [sayth he] of all other matters I doe most greatlie wonder how any priest doth lyve in England consideringe the straytnes of their lawes and statutes neyther doe I thinke if yt pleased the Queen and Counsell but they could be all founde in a day but they are permitted to execute their function, myself beinge in Englande but a lay man was heavilie prosecuted until I was taken and put into Newgate wher I protest I did expect nothinge but death but that God did then provide the better frende for me and by that meanes delivered, Jesuetes may goe to Englande [sayth he] and then be martired but never shall be amongst the nomber of martirs for that they doe willinglie desire yt for who is he that goeth to combate but will doe the best to defende and save his lief and will not deliver yt unto the handes of his enemy but guarde himself with all his weapons for feare of Death and so of the priestes of England which would or will intrude themselves unto the handes of their enemyes whereby they may be martired, truelie [quoth he] I am of a contrary mynd for our saviour did fly death as much as he might untill the houre came and soe delivered himself unto the handes of his enemyes. But wherfore because allthinges might be fullfilled which was spoken by the prophet—but wee that are sinfull Creatures most avoide and shune death and not run hedlonge unto yt as the fox unto the trape for love of the bayte therin. And withall wee use more ceremonies then are requisit and many thinges might be omytted out of our religeon which is therin contayned for that hath brought all these strifes, sedicions, calomnacions, a shisme, and heresie through the world where before yt was united, accorded, and without

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any difference through Christiandome, but shall wee then wonder when that every day we have newe sects and factions amongst our selves, and certenly I doe greatlie doubte yt that religion will be overthrowen and brought to none at all and soe I protest before God I do hartelie pray for her Majestie but especially for her convertion. And soe much for that."

APPENDIX C.

Griffith Roberts and Rhosier Smith.

As so little is known of the life of Griffith Roberts and his friend and disciple Rhosier Smith, it may be well to attempt to string together such facts as have been revealed in the course of the present inquiry.

Griffith Roberts was probably a native of North Wales. He may be identical with the "Griffin Roberts, B.A.," or with the "Griffin Roberts" who took his M.A. from Christ Church on May 30, 1555. (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses.*) In his introduction to his *Dosparth Byrr ar y rhan gyntaf i ramadeg Cymraeg* (published in 1567 at Milan), he speaks of Welshmen entering England through Shrewsbury. "Yn gyttrym ag y gwelant afon Hafren neu glochdai'r Amwythig," etc., and after describing in his charming way the beauty of foreign scenery, he adds "ni chynhesa calon Cymro wrthynt megis y gwnai wrth lan Dyfrdwy ne lawr dyffryn clwyd, ne wrth aml i leoed a fedrwn i henwi o faenol dewi i gaergybi ym mon." The particularity with which he refers to the Valley of the Dee and the Vale of Clwyd, would lead one to conjecture that he was a native of Merioneth or Denbigh. The fact that he was on terms of intimacy with Rhosier Smith, who was undoubtedly a native of the town of St. Asaph (*v.* his edition of the *Catechism* in 1611, and *Gorsedd y Byd* in 1616), lends greater weight to the conjecture. Roberts was educated at the University of Sienna—under the patronage, it is said, of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, to whom he dedicated his *Welsh Grammar.* As Dr. Sion Dafydd Rhys was also educated there, it has been

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thought that the two Welsh scholars were perhaps acquainted.

Sion Dafydd Rhys refers to Griffith Roberts's Grammar in the introduction to his *Cambrobrytannicae Cymraecaeve Linguae Institutiones* in these terms:—"Unam tantummodo Grammatices partem, Orthographiam videlicit, doctissime et brytannice conscripsit, Mediolani excudit, nobilissimoque Comiti Pembrochiensi Praenomine Gulielmo, clarissimi illius et doctissimi, insigni pietate praediti, omnique laude et favore dignissimi, amici mei perpetuo honorandi Edouardi Herberthi Cambrobrytanni, Equitis aurati, inclyto patri nuncupavit ille vir doctissimus, insignique nostrae aetatis Philosophiae professor D. Gryffythius Rubertius." In his Welsh Preface "At y Cymry," he says:—"Eithr o rann y Gwrda a'r Pendebhic mawr dhyscedic, a gybhan sodhodh ei lyfr cywrein o ran yr Orthographia neu yr Iawnsgribb, y llybhr goreu a wnaethpwyd eirioed ynn y Gymraec (am gymeint a chymeint) am hwnn y soniais o'r blaen." Though this is not conclusive either way, it would hardly appear from these passages that there was any intimacy, or perhaps acquaintance, between the two Cymric scholars.

How and when Roberts went to Milan we have no certain knowledge. It may be that he accompanied Dr. Goldwell, the Bishop of St. Asaph, who was appointed Vicar-General of the See by Cardinal Borromeo in 1565. It is certain that he was not only acquainted with Dr. Morris Clynog—who accompanied Goldwell to Rome in 1560—but that he looked upon the Bishop-elect of Bangor as his patron. In 1568 Roberts published Dr. Morris's *Athravaeth Gristnogawl*, and he opened his Preface in these words:—

> "Gruphyḍ fab Rhobert yn annerch yr
> hyparch brelad, ai ḍibaḷ gynheiliad
> M. Morys Clynoc: ag yn erchi
> iḍo gan ḍuu, gynnyḍ, ras a de—
> duḍuch enaid a chorph."

It seems probable therefore that Roberts owed his position at Milan to the introduction and good services of his countryman, Dr. Morris, who was an old friend of Bishop Goldwell.

In 1585 Rhosier Smith published at Rouen the first part of a book intituled *Y Drych Cristnogawl*, which had been written by Griffith Roberts. "Y mae blwyddyn

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bellach a chwaneg" said Smith in his preface, "er pann daeth im llaw yn Nhir Phreinc lyfr Cymbraeg o waith yr Athro mawr o Dhinas Fulan yng wlad yr Idal. Ewylhys yr Athro ydoedh dhanfon y llyfr mewn scrifen law i blith y Cymbry: Am nad oedh dim modh yw brintio ef yno, ag am fod y ffordh yn rhy bell rhy faith i dhanfon mawr nifer o lhyfreu or Idal i wlad Gymbry: Rhag torri ar ewylhys yr Athro, mi a dhanfonais o Phrainc i ynys Brydain un copi or llyfr mewn yscrifen law, ag a gedwais gopi arall gyd a mi fy hunan yn Phrainc. Yn y man ar ol tirio'r lhyfr a dyfod yn hoeth ag yn anrhefnus wedy ei wlychu gann fordwy a heli, i dhwylo Cymbry, cafodh (fal y clywais) wisc yn ei gylch ai sychu ai ymgeledhu yn ewyllysgar ag yn chwannog dhigon. Yna cerdhed a wnaeth dros amser o law i law drwy aml fanneu o dir Cymry, yn cael mawr barch a chroeso ymhob mann: pawb ar a glywei son am dano yn chwanog i gael cydnabod arno: rhai yn deisyf ei dharllian: ereill, yrhai nys medrēt dharllain, yn damuno clywed ei dharllain: y drydedh rann yn fodhlon yw gopio ai scrifennu i gael aml gopiae i fyned ar hyd y wlad. Pann dhoeth gair o hyn i dir Phrainc lhe yr oedhwn i yn trigo, ef a fu lawen a chynhes fynghallon, wrth glywed chwant ag awydh y Cymry i wrando cynghor sprydol. Yna y tyfodh gobeith mawr yn fy medhwl y gelhyd achub lhawer o eneidieu yn Ghymry rhag discyn i yphern, pe y baei fodh i dhangos ydhynt eu peryglon sprydol. Wrth fedhwl am hyn ny fedrwn i weled un modh ffrwthlon gymhwys, oni baei gael gossod a dodi i maes y llyfr miwn Print. O fiwn y Deyrnas ni welwn dhim gobaith i gael nag arian, na gweithwyr, na lhe cymhwys cyfadhas. Wrth hir fedhwl . . . . a Duw wedi trefnu Printwyr mywn tref ar fin y mor yn barod er cyflog i brintio Cymraec cystal a Saesnec: Mi a gymerais arnaf (nid heb gyfarch a chennad yr Athro) ossod miwn print y Rhan gyntaf o'r tair, Canys, megys y gwelhwch dheallt wrth lythyr yr Athro o'r blaen, nyd ywr hollwaith onyd un llyfr yn cynhwys teir Rhann. . . . . Gann na fedrem gael D. ag L. a nodae danynt yn ol ordor yr Athrawaeth Gristnogawl a brintied ym Mulan, mewn ymhell fanneu chwychwi a gewch, D. ag L. wedy eu nodi yn eu penneu. . . . O dref Roan, eich gwladwr Caredig, R.S."

Whatever may have been Roberts's position at Milan in

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1567, by 1578 he was, according to Anthony Munday, "of good account," and confessor to St. Carlo Borromeo, the Cardinal Archbishop. Lewis Owen, in the *Running Register*, states that Roberts took the part of the Welsh faction during the Roman feud, and as Roberts was a fervid Welshman—witness his introductions to the *Welsh Grammar* and the *Drych*—this is more than probable. His conversation with Munday shows that he was opposed to the projects for invading England, and his letter to Smith (App. A) that he had no love for the Jesuits, who, indeed, had been expelled by Cardinal Borromeo (*A Sparing Discovery*, by W. W., 1601, p. vi). As far as is known, he passed the remainder of his life in Milan. In 1588, just before the Spanish Armada sailed for England, Cardinal Allen—the destined Archbishop of Canterbury—was in Rome, busy with plans for the government of the Church in England after the country had been subdued by Philip of Spain. Olivarez, the Spanish Ambassador at the Papal Court, writes to Philip to tell him that Owen Lewis, the Bishop of Cassano, wanted to be Archbishop of York, but that Allen was opposed to the project, and recommended that he should be made Bishop of St. David's, or of Worcester, or of Hereford, "which are on the borders of Wales, with some occupation to keep him in play at a distance from Rome and London also," where his presence would have been detrimental, it was thought, to Allen's authority. Allen also thought "it will be proper to act in the same way for similar reasons towards Griffith Roberts, who is also a Welshman, and is now living in the state of Milan" (Knox, *Records*, ii, 313). Roberts's position, which was good enough to secure Allen's recommendation to a Welsh bishopric in 1588, grew as the years went on, and after the Bishop of Cassano's death, we find "Dr. Griffin" mentioned in a letter written by an Englishman at Madrid in November 1595 as a rival candidate to Parsons for the vacant Cardinal's hat, and one that was "much favoured by his Holiness" (*Hatf. Cat.*, vi, 449). He was seen in Milan in 1592 by one Griffin Jones, a Welsh adventurer, who was examined in the Star Chamber (*v. Hatf. Cat.*, vol. iv, 466). On May 28, 1598, he wrote a letter, signed "Gr. Ruberio", from Milan to his "special good frynde, Mr. Roger Smythe, in Paris" (*v.* Appendix A). There can be no

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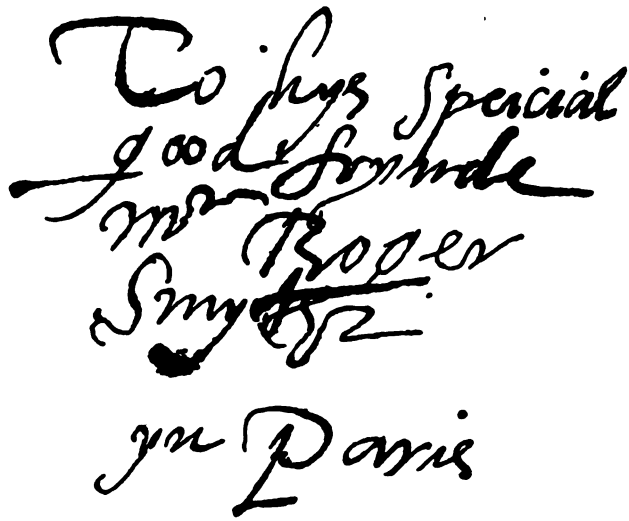
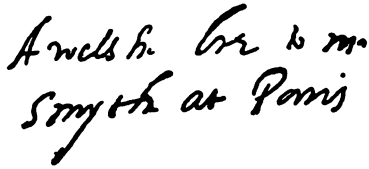


ADDRESS ENDORSED ON LETTER FROM DR. GRUFFYDD ROBERTS TO DR. RHOSIER SMYTH.



ENDORSEMENT IN ANOTHER HAND, PROBABLY THAT OF A CLERK IN THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

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doubt that "Gr. Ruberio" was Griffith Roberts. The letter is in Welsh, it is addressed to Smith, who is known to have been his friend and intimate, and on the title-page of his *Welsh Grammar* Roberts called himself Gryffythius Rubertius. The reference to Gr. Roberts in Smith's edition of Canisius's *Catechism* in 1611 as "Gwr a haudau glod a mawl tragwydawl nid yn unig o herwydd ei aml rinwedau, eithr hefyd er mwyn ei dysc ai wybodaeth yn bendifadeu yn yr iaith Gymraeg," seems to show that Roberts was not alive in that year.

The account given by Gwilym Lleyn in *Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry* of Rhosier Smith is manifestly incorrect. Smith was born in St. Asaph about 1546, and he is mentioned as being in Rome in 1579 (Owen's *Running Register*, p. 19). It is hardly possible that he was the Roger Smith mentioned as taking his B.A. at Oxford in May 1563 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*). He may be the Smith mentioned in Haddock's letter to Dr. Allen (Dodd, vol. ii, App. lix) as one of the leaders, with Hugh Griffith and Jonas Meredith, of the Welsh faction in the Roman College. In the *Douay Records*, Rogerius Smithe appears in a list of "Angli pauperes", who matriculated between 1573 and 1612. He was never ordained priest (*Dom.*, Eliz., cclxix, 27, in App. B), though he lived and died on the Continent, an exile "for Christ's sweet sake". About 1595 he crossed over to England, but was caught and thrown into Newgate prison (*see* App. A and B). How he effected his escape is not known. Griffith Roberts talks of his "picking the locks of Newgate", but Smith himself makes no mention of that (in App. B). Indeed it would almost appear from his talk with Cecil's spy that his conscience was uneasy at the price with which he purchased his freedom and his life. It may be that he was the Roger Smith who, on Jan. 10, 1595-6, had to enter with another into a recognizance of £100 "to appear before the Lord Treasurer on or before Feb. 8 next, to answer such matters as shall be objected to them" (*Hatf. Cat.*, vol. vi, 10). In 1598, he and some other anti-Jesuit Catholics endeavoured, without success, to establish an English College for the education of priests in Paris (*Dom.*, Eliz., 269, 27). An interesting reference to him is found in a letter written by an English spy to Cecil in October 1601: "Dr. Roger Smith, about 55, of no great reach,

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not fit to be employed in matters of state, as Parsons confesseth, because he could not keep Parsons' counsels in certain causes which he imparted to him" (*Dom.*, Eliz., 34, Add. n. 42, ii). This may supply the clue to Griffith Roberts' mysterious warning to Smith in 1596 against crossing the Alps and putting himself in the power of those who remembered the old feud ("yr hen genfigen"). Parsons may have been angry with Smith for his republican and nationalist views. Smith was certainly, in 1598, violently anti-English and anti-Spanish, in spite of his views in favour of Philip's title, expressed in his MS. book (which was never presumably published), to the throne of England as the only Catholic claimant (*v.* App. B). It is clear, however, that Smith was at heart opposed to the pretensions both of Philip of Spain and James of Scotland. What he really wanted was the establishment of a republican system which would give to Wales a full measure of internal independence, such as was enjoyed by the Italian States. From 1596 onwards Smith seems to have lived in Paris, where he published his Welsh translations of Catholic works. In 1609 appeared his *Crynodeb o addysg Gristnogawl*, where he describes himself as "D. Rosier Smith . . . .Athraw o Theologyddiaeth." In 1611 appeared his translation of *Catechism Petrus Canisius*, which is said (but quite erroneously) in *Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry* to have been printed from the same type ("yr un llythyren") as Griffith Roberts's *Welsh Grammar*. The type is similar, but is obviously not the same, being much smaller. In 1615 he published in Paris his *Theater du Mond, sef iw Gorsedd y Byd*. Lewis Owen, in the *Running Register* (p. 19) which was published in 1626, says that Smith "died last year in Paris". He would then have been about 79 years of age.

APPENDIX D.

Morris Clynog and Sir William Cecil.

I am indebted to the courtesy of the Marquis of Salisbury, and to the kind assistance of his private secretary, Mr. Gunton, for permission to copy and photograph the following interesting letter, which is in the Hatfield

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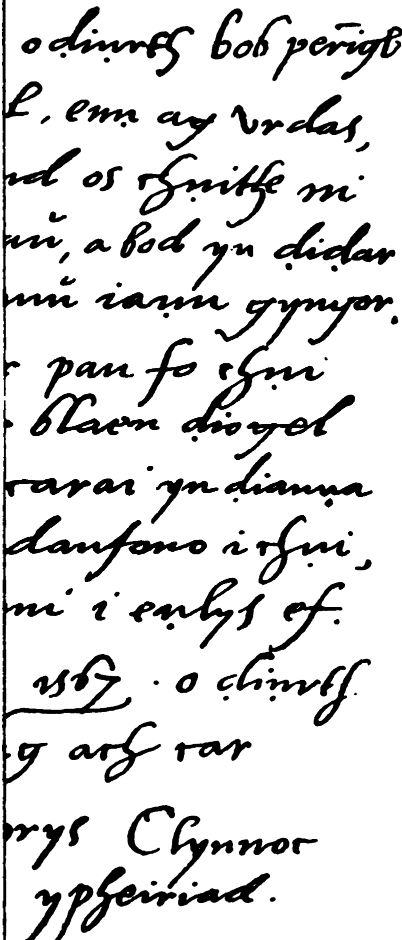

o dinwel bob perigl
l, enm ag urdas,
ud os rhaid i mi
nu, a bod yn didar
nni iawn gymyr.
r pan fo rhai
blaen diogel
rarai yn dianna
danfono i rhai,
ni i enlys ef.
1567 . o dinrell.
g ath rar
rys Clynnor
ypheiriad.

WILLIAM CECIL (1567).

.G.

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library (vol. clv, No. 50), and which, as far as I know, has never before been published in facsimile or otherwise. The letter was written in May 1567, at Rome, by Dr. Morris Clennock to Sir William Cecil. It is worth publishing were it only for its vigorous and idiomatic Welsh, but it possesses other claims to the historian's attention.

It would appear from the exordium that, early in 1559, *i.e.*, soon after Queen Elizabeth's accession, Dr. Morris Clennock left the country, presumably after receiving a passport, or leave from the Queen to dwell abroad; "diolch i chwi am y genad a gawsoch i mi gan ras y Frenhines er ys mwy nag wyth mlynedd bellach i dyfod ac i drigo allan o'r deyrnas." He suggests that this favour he owed to the good offices of Sir W. Cecil. The letter gives rise to two very interesting questions:—

1. Why did Dr. Morris take the trouble to write a long letter to the Secretary, in which he gives him no information, but makes demands which he must have known could not, and would not, be complied with? Uncertain as Elizabeth's position was in 1567, the most ardent Catholic could not have expected her, and least of all her Protestant minister, suddenly to alter the whole course of English policy, to be completely reconciled with Rome, and to send "the lascivious wolves" (*y bleiddiau anlladus*), the Protestant Bishops, "in custody" (*yn rhwym*) to Rome? And yet that is seemingly the demand which is made in the letter.

The writer, however, begins by warning Cecil that he speaks "in parables" (*ar ddameg*), and that, therefore, he must read between the lines. The gist of the message is, I think, contained in the postscript: "For God's sake, as you love the Queen's Grace, and the kingdom, and yourself also, consider deeply what may be and is likely to follow, if the Queen is excommunicated and judged to be in wrongful possession of the kingdom, and (if) all are freed from their allegiance under pain of excommunication and forfeiture of estate and land and goods, etc. The pastor here (*i.e.*, the Pope) is fierce in his service (?) of God and the Church, and (without doubt) a good man."

Pope Pius V, who was elected in 1566, was in favour of strong measures being taken against heresy. In February 1570, he drew up his famous Bull of Excommunication against Elizabeth, which was nailed on the door of the

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Bishop of London's Palace on the following May 15. But he was anxious to excommunicate the Queen long before 1570, and was only dissuaded from that course by the Kings of Spain and France.[1] Probably this is the explanation of Dr. Morris's letter to Sir W. Cecil in May 1567. The Bishop-Elect of Bangor was on terms of friendly intimacy with Bishop Goldwell, and perhaps with Cardinal Borromeo. He was, therefore, in a position to know what was taking place in the Papal Court, and to ascertain how the Queen was being betrayed by nearly all her servants and favourites, from Leicester downwards, "fal na wyddoch" as he put it to Cecil, "i bwy y gellwch goelio un gronyn pan fo rheitia." He must have come to know, also, the intrigues which were being promoted in the interests of Mary Queen of Scots, and Philip of Spain. Like all contemporary Catholics, he under-estimated the power of England, the loyalty of the Queen's subjects, and the stability of her throne. He expected nothing less than the "total destruction" (*llwyr ddistrywiant*) of the Queen and her kingdom if the breach with Rome was made irreparable by excommunication. Like all Welshmen, he looked with disgust at the prospect of a foreign domination, and the "dyfnion amcanau gelynion maleisus". My conjecture, therefore, is that Dr. Morris knew that the Pope had decided as early as May 1567 to excommunicate the Queen. He dared not tell Cecil plainly that this was so, lest his letter might chance to fall into wrong hands; he, therefore, wrote to him in Welsh and "in parables", but sufficiently clearly to enable the Secretary to understand what was the nature of the danger that henceforward threatened England and the Queen. No doubt he trusted that, after this warning, Cecil would proceed more cautiously, and, perhaps, would bring about gradually a reconciliation with the Pope.

2. The second question is, Why did Dr. Morris write to Sir William Cecil in Welsh? Everyone knows that Cecil was of Welsh descent. His father, Richard Cecil, who married the daughter of William Hockington of Bourn, in Lincolnshire, was the son of David Sitsilt, of Stanford, in the same county, by his wife Jane Walcott, of Walcott. David Sitsilt was the third son of Richard Sitsilt, of

[1] Froude, *Hist. of England*, vol. ix, 227-8.

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Alltyrynys, Glamorgan, by his wife Margaret, the daughter of William Thomas Vaughan, of Tylegas, Brecon. Sir William Cecil's grandfather, therefore, was a full-blooded Welshman, and though he married an Englishwoman, it may well be that his son Richard—who was a page at the Court of Henry VIII—knew some Welsh. But is it likely that Sir William Cecil knew Welsh? It is strange that Dr. Morris does not apologise for writing in Welsh, and as he knew Sir William Cecil personally, this affords some ground for supposing that the Secretary was acquainted with his grandfather's native tongue. On the other hand, we find no other Welsh letters in the Hatfield collection, and Bishop Nicolas Robinson, of Bangor, and Elis Pryce, in writing to the Council on March 24, 1578, explain that they have not translated the Welsh letters which they enclose because the Council may have those around them who can do so.[1] This may simply mean that some of the clerks were Welshmen; or that some members of the Council—perhaps Cecil—knew Welsh. Griffith Roberts, in his Dedication of the *Drych Cristionogawl*, says that his patron, Lord Pembroke, not only knew Welsh, but insisted even at Court in addressing his fellow-countrymen in their native tongue. The immediate reason for writing in Welsh is of course obvious. Few Catholics on the Continent understood the language, and a letter written in Welsh would, therefore, be almost as safe as one written in cipher. It is an interesting fact that Dr. Morris in his letter adopts the orthography of Griffith Roberts, who in the following year, published the exiled Bishop's *Athravaeth Gistionogawl* in Milan.

The letter runs as follows[2]:—

"Urḍasol hybarch, gida'm gorchmynion attoch yn emysgaroeḍ Jesŭ. Hyn syḍ i ḍisyfŭ arnoch fy scusodi na scrifenais erioed cyn hyn ḍim attoch: ag i ḍiolch i chui am y genad a gaụsoch i mi gen ras y frenhines er ys mụy nag wyth mlyneḍ beḷach i ḍyụod ag i drigo aḷan o'r deyrnas dan aḍe fy mod yn ḍyledŭs yụch am hyny, ag yn rhụymedig i'ch caru, ag i ḍymuno yụch eilwaith faụr ḍaḷoni, ai wneŭthŭr pe gaḷuụ, mal y ḍụy beŭnyḍ yn ych copha chụi

[1] *Dom.*, Eliz., vol. cxxiii, 11.
[2] *Hatfield Catalogue*, vol. i, No. 1133.

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at dŭụ yn fynguẹdi a hefyd (can fod yr achos ar amser yn gofyn) i ysbysŭ ag i ḍangos i chụi, ar ḍameg, y cyflụr peryglŭs ydychụi yna ynḍo, heb son am yr eneidiau, dŭụ adrycho arnynt, ond am ych tir, a'ch da, a'ch hoedel hefyd, yrhain syḍ hygarach ag anụylach gen ḍynion weithie na dŭụ i hŭnan. Canys mae'r fath ḍarparu a'r arlụy, laụer phorḍ, yn tyfy ag yn aḍfedŭ yn erbyn y gam phyḍ ai gau ḍeḍfe cimaint na sonia fi yn laụn lythr etc. gan fod yn ḍigon un gair i gaḷ. Ag i chụithe gas creŭlon, cyphredin gen hen ag ifanc, gen beḷ ag agos, o ḍifewn ag aḷan, fal na wyḍoch i bụy y geḷụch goelio vn gronyn pan fo rheitia (er teced y mae'r byd yn chụerthin arnoch etto dros amser) ag ich person chụi ychŭnan yn anụedig gen baụb, gant mụy nag a fŭ erioed i argụlyd Cromụel nag i neb o'r wlad yna: dan fụrụ ar ych gụar chụi yn vnig hol drụmlụythaŭ pob afluyḍ echrys a drygioni a ḍameinioḍ ag a syrthioḍ yn y deyrnas yna a'i hamgylch, er pan ḍechreuoḍ gras y frenhines deyrnasŭ hyd yr oụran: fal nad oes i chụi (pa foḍ bynog y diainc ereiḷ) vn phorḍ ond vn i'ch ymachub, os byḍ eụlys dŭụ i chụi gymeryd cyngor iachaụl ai ganlyn yn amser, ag na choeliach ormod i'r byd tụylys yma nag ych synụyr ych hŭnan syḍ debig i'ch sŏmi. A hon yụr vnig phorḍ (oni choeliụch ni ḍeheldụch) a eiḷ ych cadụ chụi ag eraiḷ, drụy rym a gras dŭụ, rhag ych lụyr ḍifetha, os rhodiụch yn ḍifri ag yn inion ar frys rhyd ḍi: Sef yụ troi o honoch yn grụn ych cụbl feḍụl at dŭụ ai egluys, a thrụy bụylogrụyḍ dŭụiol, myfyrio yn ḍyfal, a lafŭrio yn ystigar ḍuyn a thynŭ yn ḍoeth gras y frenhines einom i ḍerbyn ag i ḍiphyn y phyḍ gatholig (megis y mae i ucheleḍ hi yn dal ag yn rhoi'r tityl a gafoḍ i hyna hi o ḍyma er mụyn yr uchod achos) ag ymroi o honi yn gụbl, a gụarostụng yn drefnŭs i'r fam egluys yma (yr hon y syḍ bob amser ai monues yn agored fal mam drigarog yn barod i ḍerbyn paụb iḍi ar a ḍelont yn deilụng i orphụys ynḍi aḷan o diụrth i blin douyḷ gylioni). A pheri oi moureḍ hi yn ḍiḍụyl (yn aruyḍ oi phyḍ gatholig, ai hymroeant i'r fam egluys Rŭfeinig) ḍanfon yn rhuym hyd yma i Rŭfain, y bleiḍiau anḷadŭs syḍ yn le yscobion yna, druy faur guiliḍ, a choḷed yn ḍiuyno'r deyrnas, i vneŭthŭr peth penyd am i pechod anfeidrol, ai bŭcheḍ ysceler y syḍ yscŭmyn, ag i ydrach a fedrent fyụ yma yn ḍifeiach, o diụrth gig a guraged a chuantach cnaụdol, a chaḍu'r lụ a'r ḍŭned a wnaethont i dŭụ gorŭchaf oi wasnaŭthŭ yn

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gyfa ḍeḍfol, ai aḍoli yn dŭụiol tra fyḍent byụ yn y byd meụn gụirioneḍ a glendid, Ag feły y gałe i gras hi yn rhinụedol ḍechre chụynŭ a charthŭ i hoł deyrnas, o ḍụirth fŭdreḍi anianaụl a maụr ḍrygioni, ai ḍuyn eilụaith yn haụḍ oi hen santeiḍrụyḍ a chadụ ond odid eŭ heneidiaŭ nhụy hefyd, ag wrth ḍyuaḍ feły i'r eglụys oi phur eụlys i hŭnan ynił̣e galonaŭ paụb drụy gred a bedyḍ, a moliant draguyḍol odieth ymheł vụch ben pob prins a brenin, agai cyphlybid ymhob oes oi hen gares Saint Elen a gafes gynt y groes fendiged: heb laụr dobor ḍeḍuyḍ a gae hi yn y nefoeḍ gen dŭụ i barhaŭ byth heb na thranc na gorphen. A hon yụ yr inion phorḍ i ḍouad eilụaith i feḍianŭr pethaŭ a goḷụyd, os rhyḍ dŭụ i rad oi chymryd yn amser cyn dawe'r blinder yna yn ole, Os chụchi ych hŭnan a lafŭriụch yn wrol yn hyn o neges ai dụyn i ben yn fŭan chụi a neụch i dŭụ nef faụr ogoniant, ag ond odid cadụ gras y frenhines ai theyrnas o ḍiụrth lụyr ḍistroụiant, a dyfnion amcanau gelynion maleisus, a dienc ychŭnan o ḍiụrth bob perigl dan bụrcasŭ i chụi a'ch ytifeḍion yn ychol, enụ ag urḍas a daioni tragụyḍol gen dŭụ a dyn, Ond os chụitha ni neụch ḍim amgen, ond gụascŭ ych clŭstiaŭ, abod yn ḍiḍarbod, dan ḍiystyrŭ gụiụ rybyḍ a mingamŭ iawn gyngor, ni eḷụchụi fyth ḍoedyd yn ol hyn o amser pan fo chụi meụn traḷaụd a dialeḍ, na chọusoch o'r blaen ḍiogel rybŭḍ gen wr natŭriol o'ch gụlad a'ch carai yn ḍianụadal, megis y gụyr dŭụ yn ore, yr hụn a ḍanfono i chụi, ni ai harcha, ḍigoneḍ oi rad i gyfloụni i eụlys ef. Rhoḍụyd yn Rhŭfain y 24 o fis mai 1567 o ḍiụrth

"Yr eḍoch ag ach car
"Morys Clynnoc,
"*Ypheiriad.*"

The following, evidently a postcript, is inserted between the two pages of the letter, and bears marks of having been less carefully written :—

"Er mụyn dŭụ, fal i'r ydych yn carŭ gras y frenhines, a'r deyrnas, a chụichụi hefyd, ystyriụch yn ḍyfn, beth a eiḷ ag y syḍ debig i ganlyn: os yscymunir y frenhines ai barnu yn gam feḍianes o'r deyrnas, a rhyḍhaŭ paụb o ḍiụrth obediens iḍi dan boen yscymundod a phorphetio i tir ai daear ai da etc.

"Mae'r bigel yma yn phyrnig yn negesau dŭụ ai Eglụys ag (yn ḍiphael) yn vr da, bid eụlys dŭụ."

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APPENDIX E.

Facsimile of Dom., James I, xxii, 63.

The letter, reproduced on the opposite page, is interesting as the only known specimen of John Roberts's handwriting. Its contents, which are of no historical interest or importance, have already been published by Dom. Bede Camm in his "Life" of the martyr.

APPENDIX F.

Family of John Roberts.

John Roberts, was, we know from his own admissions, a native of Trawsfynydd in Merioneth. Lewis Owen, in the *Running Register*, states that he was of a gentle family, and in the *Oxford University Register* he is entered as matriculating on Feb. 26, 1595, aged 19, "generosi filius," "of co. Merioneth, gent." (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses.*) That is really all we know at present. It is a pity that his biographer, Dom. Bede Camm, should have been ill-advised enough to rush with unwary feet into the shifting bog of Welsh genealogy. Camm concludes that John Roberts was a son of the John Roberts whose pedigree is given in Lewis Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitation*, vol. ii, p. 215. The pedigree runs as follows:

> "Plwyv Llanfrothen, y Parke, y Vaner Gymer, Gwehelyth John Roberts, esq.
>
> "John Roberts, 2 mab Robt. ab Morys ab John ab Meredith, *Vide* p. 1 (G.)
>
> "John Roberts, Anna v. Powl ab Diricke, Sercil o Gildertar, etc.
>
> "Plant John Robt., Wm. mort, Elsbth.=Morgan Branas ab Wmphy ab Morgan ab Robt., Blanch=Caddr. Owen, Mr. of Arts, Mary=Jasper Gr., Jane= ."

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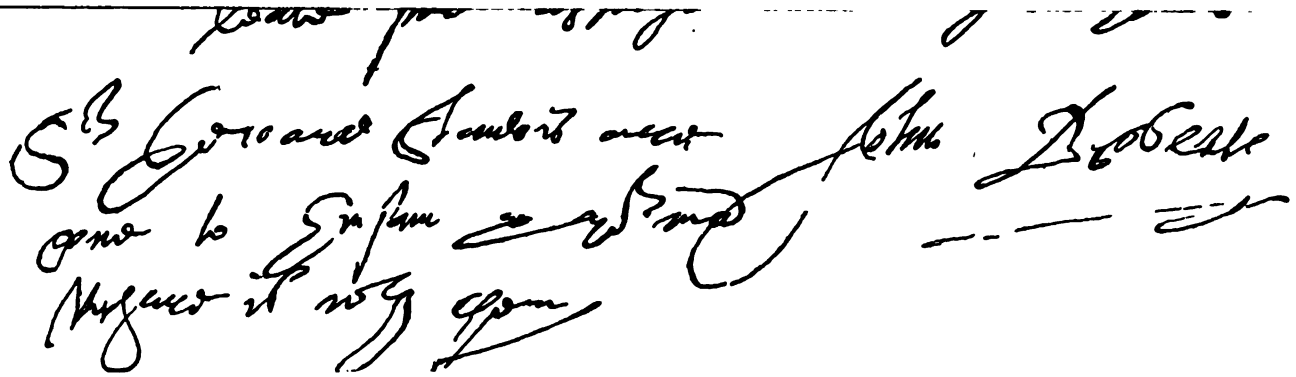

FACSIMILE LETTER FROM JOHN ROBERTS, O.S.B. (*State Papers, Dom.*, James I, xxii, 63.)

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UNIV. OF MICH.

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It is evident, upon a close scrutiny, that this John Roberts cannot be the martyr's father. (1) The family is that of Parke, Llanfrothen; and John Roberts is said to be living at Faner Gymer, near Dolgelley (*v. Dwnn*, ii, 70). Nothing is said of Trawsfynydd in Dwnn's two pedigrees (pp. 70 and 215). (2) The words "Plant John Robt., Wm., mort," etc., are wrongly translated by Camm as "The children (of John Roberts are) John Robt., Wm., decd." etc. They should be, "The children of John Robert(s are) Wm. mort," etc. This is the sense in which the words were understood by Wood, who terms Blanche "the daughter and co-heir" of John Roberts, which would not be the case if she had a brother or brothers living (*Fasti Oxonienses*, i, 455). That this is the correct rendering will be obvious to all who are familiar with Lewis Dwnn. (3) It is incredible that, if Cadwallader Owen's son, Richard, the famous Royalist Vicar of Eltham, was the martyr's nephew, some mention of the fact should not have been made somewhere.

The Rev. Ethelred Taunton has fallen into a somewhat more serious error. On p. 154, Camm says:—"If Lewis Owen were a relative of Cadwallader Owen, the parson-husband of Blanche Roberts, it will explain the curious mixture of praise and calumny, etc., which characterise that worthy's account of the martyr." As we have seen, the assumption that Cadwallader Owen was the martyr's brother-in-law is wholly erroneous. But Taunton improves upon the blunder (*Engl. Bened.*, ii, 11)—"Lewis Owen," he says, "not only was himself at Valladolid (1605) but became brother-in-law to John Roberts by marrying his sister Blanche." There is not a tittle of proof (1) that Cadwallader Owen was in any way related to or connected with the martyr; (2) that Lewis Owen was a relative of Cadwallader Owen; or (3) that Lewis Owen was in the remotest degree akin either to the John Roberts of Dwnn, or John Roberts the martyr.

Lewis Owen, the spy, was undoubtedly favourably disposed to the martyr, and bitterly opposed to the Jesuits. But we need not seek for ties of blood to explain the phenomenon. Both the martyr and the spy were alike natives of Merioneth, and students at Oxford and Valladolid; both had come under the influence of the Jesuits, and both disliked them; both were Welshmen, and Lewis Owen (as

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is evidenced by his account of the racial feud in the Roman College) was not the man to forgive the anti-Welsh part then played by the Jesuits.

Who Lewis Owen was it is perhaps hardly worth while to inquire. According to the writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography* he was "perhaps the eldest son of Griffith Owen, who was the fourth son of Lewis Owen, Baron of the Exchequer." In that case he succeeded to the Peniarth estates on the death of his mother's brother, William David Lloyd, of Peniarth, and died in 1633. But if he was a scion of this family, he would hardly have been termed in the Oxford Registers, "pleb. fil."; and the date of Lewis Owen's death is generally placed at 1628. Nor is it likely that Lewis Owen, of Peniarth, would have been as impecunious as Lewis Owen the spy is known to have been.

A few additional facts concerning the family of John Roberts, of Llanfrothen, have been kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. J. H. Davies, who had been engaged, unknown to me, upon an inquiry into this question, and whose conclusions, arrived at quite independently, are similar to my own. These tend, in my view, to prove conclusively that John Roberts, of Llanfrothen, had no connection with the martyr:—

1. The will of John Roberts, of Llanfrothen (dated 26 January 1600), mentions three daughters and one son, "my onely soonne" William.

2. The will of William (dated April 20, 1604), makes no mention of any brothers or sisters, but leaves all the testator's property to his mother.

3. In the eleventh year of James I a Bill of Complaint was presented by the Rev. Cadwallader Owen, of Llanfechan, Montgomery, and Blanche his wife, Jasper Griffith, of Knyckley, and Mary his wife, Thomas Arthington, of London, and Jane his wife, and states that John Roberts, late of Penrhyn [Penrhyn Deudraeth ?], in the co. of Merioneth, was seised of certain farms in Llanelltud, and that on his death the same descended and came, as the same as of right ought to descend, unto the said Blanche, Mary and Jane, "three of your orators, daughters and heirs of the said John Roberts, their

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said late father, deceased." *(Exchequer Rolls, Bills and Answers*, James I, Merioneth, No. 57.)

4. Undoubtedly the Vicar of Ellham, the son of the Rev. Cadwallader Owen and the grandson of John Roberts, Llanfrothen, owned property in Trawsfynydd, a fact which is relied on by Camm to prove that he was a member of the martyr's family. In the Chancery Proceedings for November 12, 1616 (Series 2, Bundle 317, No. 12), is found the explanation of its origin. It is there stated that Mary, the wife of Jasper Griffith, was the daughter of John Roberts, who bought certain lands in Trawsfynydd from John Powys. So that the John Roberts, of Dwnn, was born in Llanfrothen, lived at Faner Cymmer, near Dolgelley, and had only a purchased, and not an inherited, estate in Trawsfynydd.

Cadwallader Owen's pedigree is given in *Dwnn*, vol. ii, 285. His father, Owen ap Ieuan Vychan ap Meredydd, married Elen, the daughter of David ap Rhys, of Penmorfa. The name of "Lewis Owen" does not appear anywhere in the genealogy. Cadwallader Owen matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, November 24, 1581, æt. 19, graduated in October 1583, was elected Fellow of Oriel in 1585, became Vicar of Llanfechan in 1601, of Llanbrynmair in 1608, and died in 1617. The date of his marriage is not ascertained, but his second son Richard was born in 1607.

Who then was John Roberts, the martyr? Dwnn gives a pedigree which may possibly turn out to be his. Under "Dol-y-Ddwyrid, Festiniog," he states that a certain John ap Robert ap Howel (who was alive in 1588) had a son Robert. This Robert had six children, the eldest of whom was named John. This may prove to be the martyr. Festiniog is only five miles away from Trawsfynydd, and there is nothing improbable—indeed it is highly probable—that Robert ap John, who was married and had six children (none of them married at the time the pedigree was compiled), should not have been living at the paternal home at Dol-y-Ddwyrid.

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APPENDIX G.

Thomas Morgan.

Thomas Morgan was, according to the writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "doubtless of Llantarnam." He was born in 1543, and is commonly supposed to have died about 1606, but as late as January 14, 1611, a letter was sent to him at Rome from Robert Pelt at Brussels, which shows that he was alive at that date.[1]

In the State Papers (*Dom.*, Eliz., January 1589-90) there is published a letter from Thomas Morgan to his brother, Rowland, in which he refers to another brother named Harry, the "Queen's customer in South Wales" (called in *Dom.*, Eliz., vol. clxxviii, 65, "Henry Morgan, customer, of Cardiff"). In the 1590 letter Morgan refers to the families of Tredegar, Vanne, Llantarnam, and Bedwellty, as being "their natural kinsman". He also mentions by name his cousins, Lewis Thomas (Thomas Lewis ?), James Morgan, and Morgan of Gray's Inn. In early youth he became secretary to the Protestant Bishop of Exeter, and in 1569 to Lord Shrewsbury at Tutbury, where Mary Queen of Scots was detained. He became her devoted partisan, was imprisoned for complicity in the Ridolfi Conspiracy in 1571, released at the instance of Cecil, and left England for Paris. The Jesuit Parry, who was hanged for plotting to murder Elizabeth, stated that Morgan had urged him to commit the crime, and Morgan, in spite of his denial of the charge, was thrown into the Bastille. Morgan was in constant and confidential communication with Mary Stuart up to the time of her death, and there can be no doubt that he was absolutely faithful to her interests (notwithstanding the aspersions made upon him in Cardinal Sega's Report, Foley vi). Mary reposed the utmost confidence in his loyalty and discretion, and acted only through him. At his suggestion,

[1] *Western Archives*, x 7, p. 17.

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Dr. Owen Lewis was appointed Mary's agent in Rome. After Mary's death, Morgan transferred his services to her relations—her son, James VI of Scotland, and the Duke of Guise. In 1590 he was released from the Bastille and went to Flanders, where he was imprisoned by the Duke of Parma till 1593. Upon his arrest in Flanders he was closely examined by the Spanish officials.[1] One of the notes written in the margin of the record of his examination, gives the following account of Morgan:—

> "He began by sowing discord between her (viz., Mary, Queen of Scots) and her advisers, and persuaded her that they, and Dr. Allen and the Jesuits, aimed at conquering England and Scotland for the King of Spain under her name, and so succeeded in getting her to forbid any of them to communicate with her, except through Morgan and Charles Paget. He also introduced division amongst the English Catholics, being amongst those that maintained that matters might be remedied without the employment of foreign forces, the chiefs of which party are the bishop of Cassano (Dr. Owen Lewis) in Rome, and the bishop of Dunblane, and they, with Morgan, persecute Cardinal Allen and the Jesuits and others, who wish to reduce England by the forces of his Majesty. . . . He is a partisan of the Bishop of Cassano against Cardinal Allen and the Jesuits. . . . He frankly confesses that he would be sorry to see his country subjugated by foreigners, and especially Spaniards."

In 1593, after the Duke of Parma's death, he was released, and proceeded to Rome, where he lived with the Bishop of Cassano until the latter's death in October, 1595.[2] Morgan thereupon returned to France. In May 1596, he was again expelled, but returned to Paris in 1605. He is mentioned in Guy Fawkes's confession as having meditated a Gunpowder Plot in Queen Elizabeth's time, but he is not mentioned as having been involved in any plot against James I, the son of his old mistress.

That Morgan was a scion of the widespreading Morgan family, whose senior branch has been settled at Tredegar for many centuries, is certain, but to what branch he really belonged has not been authoritatively ascertained. We know, on his own confession, that he was "born in Wales, of honourable and Catholic parents", and that he

[1] *Spanish State Papers*, February 12, 1590, p. 565, *seq.*

[2] *State of the English Fugitives.*

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was 47 years of age in 1590.[1] We know, also, that his brother Henry was "customer" at Cardiff, and that, in 1585, his brother Rowland was "a seminary priest", *i.e.*, a priest educated at Rheims, engaged in mission work in England. Cardinal Sega, in his report on the dissensions in the English College at Rome, which he prepared in 1596, shortly before his death, states that one of Morgan's brothers, who had been educated at Rheims, had turned Protestant, which so weighed upon his mind that he drowned himself.[2] Rowland is the only one of Thomas Morgan's brothers who is known to have been a "Seminarist", and it would, therefore, seem that it was he that abjured his faith.

After some hesitation, I have come to the conclusion that Thomas Morgan was the son of John Morgan, of Bassalleg, a scion of the Tredegar house, whose pedigree is given in the *Book of the Golden Grove* (D. 883). The facts and the dates all fit in, and though there is no record that Rowland Morgan was ever drowned (according to Cardinal Sega's version), it is clear that if Rowland, of Bassalleg, be Rowland the Seminarist, he did abjure his principles, for we find that he was twice married, and, if the dates given in Clark's *Limbus* can be relied upon—not always a safe assumption to make—it would seem that Rowland only married several years after 1585, when we know he was a priest. Clark, indeed, states that T. Morgan, of Bassalleg, is "supposed to have been secretary to Mary, Queen of Scots," and that his brother, Harry Morgan, was "officer of the customs at Cardiff, 1585" (p. 316). But no authority is given for these statements. However, the probability in favour of the identification is so strong that I had formed the conclusion before coming across Clark's statement. I append a pedigree showing the relations of the different Morgans of Tredegar, Bedwellty, and Lantarnam, and the Lewises of Van, in Bedwas (the maternal ancestors of Lord Windsor), compiled from the *Book of Golden Grove*, Lewis Dwnn, and Clark's *Limbus Patrum*.

[1] *Spanish State Papers*, 1590, p. 565.
[2] Foley's *Jesuits*, vol. vi, 14.

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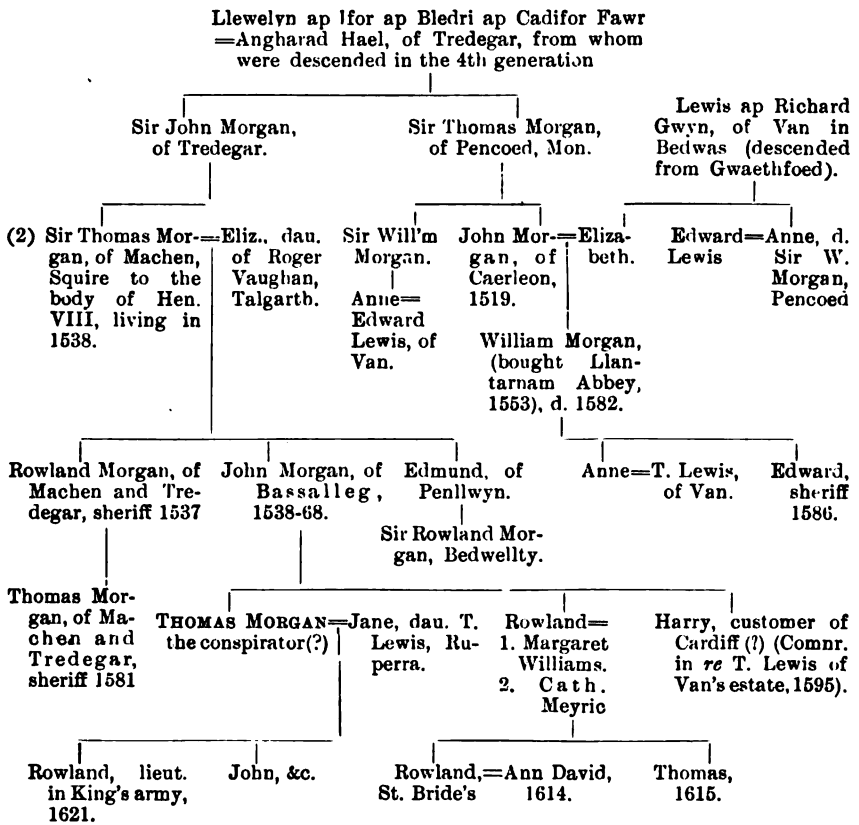

All that can be said for the identification of the conspirator with the son of John Morgan of Bassalleg is that it does not contradict any known fact, that it explains his relationship with the Morgan and Lewis families, that it fits in with the ascertained dates, and that no one has yet discovered another Thomas Morgan of whom the same could be said.

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APPENDIX H.

The Two Hugh Owens.

There were at least two Welsh Catholics named Hugh Owen, who, though they were not contemporaries, have been sometimes confused. The elder was involved in nearly every Catholic plot, from the Ridolfi Conspiracy to the Gunpowder Treason: the other is known as Hugh Owen, Gwenynog, in Anglesea, the author of the Welsh translation of the *Imitatio Christi* which appeared in 1684. Mr. Edward Owen, in his excellent *Catalogue of MSS. relating to Wales in the British Museum* (p. 10), speaking of the Hugh Owen living at Brussels in 1603, says that "Hugh Owen was a Jesuit priest, and was deeply implicated in the Gunpowder Plot," and hazards the conjecture that "he may possibly be identical with Hugh Owen Gwenynoc ym Mon." Hugh Owen, the conspirator, was not a Jesuit, though often so called, even by contemporaries.[1] He was a layman and a soldier, and not a priest (though confounded in the Index to the State Papers with Father Thomas Owen, Rector after 1610 of the English College at Rome[2]), and he was not of Gwenynog, in Anglesea, or the translator of *Dilyniad Crist.*

The first mention we have of Hugh Owen is in connection with the Ridolfi Conspiracy, when he was Lord Arundel's "man" and took a very active and leading part in the plot.[3] Upon the discovery of the conspiracy he fled to Flanders. In January 1572 we find him in Madrid, "with letters to the Duchess of Feria (*née* Jane Dormer) and Sir Thomas Stukeley," when he "did pretend to convey the Queen of Scots out of England into Flanders and thence into Spain."[4] In the following November he was given one hundred and fifty ducats and a pension of twenty ducats a month in Flanders, whence he returned in

[1] *Foley*, vol. vi, p. 145, *note.*

[2] See, *e.g.*, *Dom.*, Eliz., vol. cclxix, 27; vol. cclxxii, 90; *Dom.*, James I, April 29, 1604, p. 103; April 1606, p. 314.

[3] *Hatf. Catal.*, i, 536-7.

[4] *For.*, Eliz., 1572, p. 10; *v.* also, *Dom.*, Eliz., Add. xxi, 4.

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February 1573.[1] In the following May Sir Francis Englefield writes from Mechlin to Chapin Vitelli, commending to his notice Hugh Owen, "a Catholic gentleman, who on account of his religion has been obliged to leave his country and family, and desiring that he will assist him in obtaining the payment of a pension of twenty crowns per month, promised to him by the King of Spain."[2] Owen does not seem to have experienced any more difficulty with regard to the payment of his pension, and henceforward he was reckoned as one of the most aggressive of the Spanish faction among the English refugees.[3]

In January 1572 Owen, "who is very intimate with Lady Northumberland and the rest," sent his man over to England from Flanders with letters, "and the searcher, being their friend, suffers them to pass and repass at pleasure." Burghley was immediately warned by John Lee,[4] but the servant does not seem to have been captured. Three years later, however, we find in the State Papers an information as to words spoken by Richard Morice, of Oswestry, in the presence of Thomas Lloyd, gentleman, William Vaughan and Griffith ap Hugh, relative to the coming over of one Parry, servant to Hugh Owen, who brought letters from the Queen's enemies to the Earl of Arundel, and of his resort to the Earl of Arundel's house, and of the concealment of Owen by the Vicar of Oswestry. The letters were hidden in the soles of Parry's shoes, but when he found he was in danger of arrest, he is said to have eaten the letters.[5]

Three years later, on March 24, 1578, Bishop Robinson, of Bangor, and Elis Price mention Hugh Owen in a letter which they addressed to the Council from Pwllheli. They reported that they had searched for the persons supposed to have been dealing with Hugh Owen, a rebel, who had "viewed and sounded" the havens near Pwllheli, before he had "fled on suspicion of treason"; but many of the persons, having received some private intelligence of what

[1] *Dom.*, Eliz., Add., vol. xxiii, 61.
[2] *For.*, Eliz., May 1573, 946-7.
[3] See, *e.g.*, Cecil's List, in May 1591, *Dom.*, Eliz., vol. ccxxxviii, 181. "Of the laity those that favour the Spaniards are Sir William Stanley, Sir Francis Englefield, Mr. Owen," etc.
[4] *Dom.*, Eliz., Add., xxi, 4.
[5] *Dom.*, Eliz., vol. cv, 54. The Vicar was probably the Rev. John Price, who died 1583. (*Bishop's Certificates*, St. Asaph Diocese, 2.)

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was in store for them, had escaped. It had been ascertained that Owen had "relief and maintenance" from his brother, Thomas Owen, the Madryns, and others. Thomas Owen was supposed to be "lurking" in Shropshire. Another brother, Robert Owen, the late Vicar of Felton, had written some letters in Welsh, which were sent on to the Council without being translated. The purport of these letters seemed innocent, but it was suspected that they contained a hidden meaning.[1] Robert Owen was alive in Paris in October 1601, when he was acting as "intelligencer" to his brother Hugh and Parsons and the Jesuits, during their strife with the priests. Reference is made also to another brother of Hugh Owen, named John, in April-May 1593. In that month Hugh Owen wrote a letter from Madrid to his brother at Douay. The letter fell into Cecil's hands, who endorsed it "Hue Owen to his brother John at Doway." It was addressed to "Juan Oens, mi hermano, bachiller en derecho, que guarde muchos anos Douay." Its contents are unimportant, being only an introduction of the bearer to John Owen. This may be the John Owen mentioned in a letter from Sir Cuthbert Buckle to Lord Burghley on June 7, 1594, as having written to one Sterell from Middleburg.[2]

If not a Jesuit himself, Hugh Owen was "hand in glove" with the English Jesuits on the Continent. He was an unflinching friend and supporter of the "busymen", Parsons and Holt, Cresswell and Baldwin, and a devoted Spanish partisan.[3] He ranged himself against his countryman, Dr. Owen Lewis, the Bishop of Cassano. "Owen and the rest laugh at Cassano's being Cardinal," wrote Dr. Gifford on January 12, 1595; "they accuse Cassano of being Scottish, and plot his ruin and utter overthrow."[4] He is constantly mentioned in the State Papers as "a pensioner of Spain," and Lewkenor, in his *State of the English Fugitives*, mentions Owen as being an exception to the usual rule. "In good faith he is the onely man that ever I knew advanced, credited or graced in his (King Philip's) service, and yet (God wot) all that he getteth is no more than to maintain him in a meane estate or shew,

[1] *Dom.*, Eliz., vol. cxxiii, 11.
[2] *V.* State Papers *passim.*
[3] *V.* Taunton's *Jesuits*, pp. 108, 182, 207.
[4] *Dom.*, Eliz., vol. cclii, 66, 1.

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with a man only or two to serve him" (p. 34). He was in high favour with the Duke of Parma, but his credit seems to have suffered somewhat for a time after the Duke's death. Yet in November 1596, an English spy reported to Cecil that

> "There has been great dissension between Chas. Paget and Owen. I know Paget's credit is marred, and he ordered to be silent, whilst Owen and Father Holt rule all courses for England."—*Dom.*, Eliz., vol. cclx, 114.

A certain Butler wrote to Cecil, in July 1599, informing him that he had seen in London "one Middleton, long a pensioner of the King of Spain, a comrade of the notorious traitor Owen, much employed by the Duke of Parma. . . . . He lodges with his brother, a great merchant in Tower Street." The "great merchant" was Mr., afterwards Sir, Thomas Myddleton, Lord Mayor of London in 1613, to whom, and to Alderman Heylin, Wales was indebted for the "Bibl Coron" of 1630. The recusant brother had come to London upon the invitation of Cecil, with whom Thomas Myddleton had interceded. Which of the many brothers he was, I am not able to say. One of the brothers, Captain Myddleton, the author of the metrical translation of the Psalms into Welsh, was a Catholic.

Hugh Owen is frequently mentioned in connection with the Gunpowder Plot, of which, there is little doubt, he was cognisant. Guy Fawkes stated in his confession that the design was "communicated to Hugh Owen at the camp before Ostend".[1] The English Government brought pressure to bear on the Archduke of Flanders to deliver Owen up to them, but Owen was strong enough to hold his ground. This is the last mention of him in the State Papers,[2] and the probability is that he died about that time.

I have no doubt that he was the "Monsieur Hugues Owen, gentilhomme Anglais, a Bruxelles", the addressee of a letter in the British Museum, dated Dec. 7, 1603.[3] Mr. Edward Owen has described the condition of the MS. in his Catalogue :—

> "The MS. has been damaged by fire, and the style of what remains of the letter is so obscure that it is impossible

[1] *Dom.*, James I, Nov. 9, 1605, p. 247.
[2] *Dom.*, James I, Dec. 23, 1605, p. 273; Apr. 29, 1606. p. 314.
[3] *Cott. MSS.*, Caligula E. x, f. 247.

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to make out its meaning. Welsh sentences are introduced at several points, proving the writer to have been a Welshman."

In a footnote Mr. Edward Owen adds:—"The writer's name is given in the Museum Catalogue as J. Owen, but the signature to the letter more closely resembles J. Jones, or it may be no more than a succession of initials or capital letters." Mr. Owen, however, has overlooked the endorsement, which is in the same handwriting as the body of the letter. "The copy of a l're from Mr. Owen, ye priest att Mants, to Mr. Ouen, his brother, at Bruxells, 1603." The letter is, therefore, only a copy, and the signature would be only an imitation of the original. The first initial is certainly J., and we know from the endorsement that the surname of the writer was Owen, a priest stationed at Mants. He would, therefore, appear to be the same as the "Juan Oens" of Douay, to whom Hugh Owen addressed a letter from Madrid in 1593; or it may be his other brother, Robert, sometime Vicar of Felton, and afterwards "intelligencer" for the Jesuits in Paris.

Mr. Edward Owen has, however, misread the letter of 1603 in one particular. The writer, he says, "speaks of 'our cosyn guyn', who was with his correspondent". What the writer does is to refer to a nephew who is with Hugh Owen at Brussels, but he expressly says that 'cosyn guyn' is in the Tower. "I am glad", he writes,

> "to here of a neueu of ours beyng wh you . . . . he is in catechyzing, you shall doe well to stay . . . . not retourning home in East', and employ him in . . . . sening he is already entred into ye profession, yf . . . . come of or kinred, I cold assyst hym here, where . . . . ys good com'oditie to profitt in ye vacatio'. I h . . . be in Paris before the end of January, and as . . . fall out, you shall here, and whether my co' . . . . . cosyn guyn js in ye toure styll . . . god comfort hym. you never wrote unto me any word of my cosyn guyn, before now, yf ye puritans prevaile adieu all bellis and coopes, and churches to, except god worke. . . . . Vale wh my harty com'endacions to yr camerado and yor selfe and or neveu, I pray god make hym a good ma'. from me this 7th of Dcbre 1603."

It is a fortunate circumstance that we have an account of one Roger Gwynn or Wynn, who was lodged in the Tower in 1603. On June 6 of that year, St. Aubyn sent word to the Council from Cornwall that Captain Cock and Captain Fisher "beinge at sea, mett with a shippe of

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Newhaven, a ffrenchman, and coming aboorde founde there an Englishman called Roger Gwyn, borne in Carnarvonshire, in Wales, who uppon their examininge of him acknowledged himselfe to be a seminarie priest whom they tooke out of the said shippe." Gwyn or Wyn, for he is described as both indifferently, confessed that he was twenty-six years of age, and that he was a native of "Pwllhelye." He "departed out of England into Irelonde about six years past, where he lived on his own charges, and came to the colledge of the seminarie in Civita (? elsewhere called Seville), and after his staie there on quarter of a yeare was sent to the seminary of Viliadolid, where he continued about five yeares, and then was there made a seminarye priest, since which tyme he hath remayned there two yeares, and was now sent by father Cresswell, superior of the Colledge", to the English mission. He intended to land in Swansea. He was intercepted and sent up to the Tower in July 1603, where, we know, he remained until, at least, May 24 of the following year. It would, therefore, be correct to say of him in December 1603 that he was in the Tower "styll".[1]

It would almost appear as if Roger Gwyn may have been one of Father William Davies's pupils. In 1592, Father Davies was apprehended by one Foulke Thomas, while he was on his way to Holyhead to procure a passage for four young men to Ireland, on their way to Valladolid.[2] Father Davies was found guilty, and executed on July 21, 1593. One of his four companions "was sent to a country schoolmaster to be whipped into conformity." He, however, escaped to Ireland, whence he proceeded to Valladolid. He was an inmate of the seminary in that place in 1598, when Bishop Yepez wrote the "history of the persecution".[3] If Roger Gwyn was not the man, he was at all events his countryman and contemporary. It is not without interest to note, also, that he was contemporary with Father Leander and Father John Roberts at Valladolid.

It is a curious circumstance that Roger Gwyn was a native of Pwllheli. Hugh Owen, as we have seen, had "viewed and sounded" the havens of Pwllheli before he

[1] *Dom.*, James I, June 6, 23 and 28, 1603; May 24, 1604.
[2] *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. xxii, 366; vol. xxiii, 25; vol. xxiv, 185. Challoner's *Memoirs of Missionary Priests.*
[3] Challoner's *Memoirs.*

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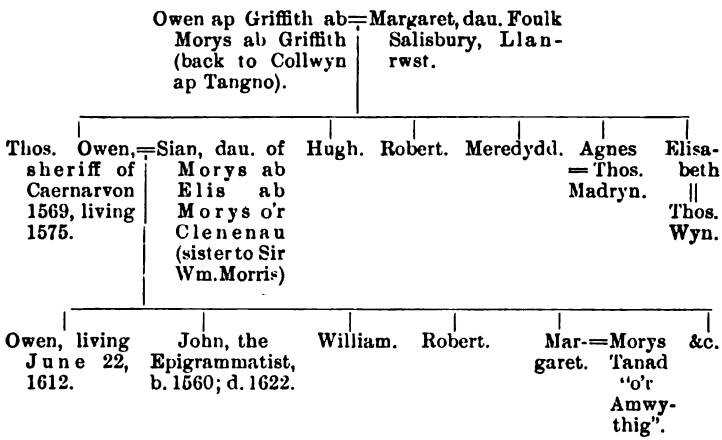
fled the country in 1571; Bp. Robinson and Elis Price, after searching for Thomas Owen, Hugh's brother, at his house in 1578, write their report to the Council at Pwllheli. But though Hugh Owen's family were settled in Carnarvonshire, they had some connection with the Oswestry district of Shropshire. Hugh Owen himself was first known as Lord Arundel's man, and Lord Arundel had great possessions in the Powys marches. His servant, Parry, confides in Richard Morice, of Oswestry. The Vicar of Oswestry hides Hugh Owen. Robert Owen was Vicar of West Felton, Salop, some five miles from Oswestry. Thomas Owen, the elder brother, "lurks" in Shropshire when he is sought for in Carnarvonshire. This curious association of a Carnarvonshire family of Owens with the Oswestry district would seem to indicate that they were the Owens of Plas Du, near Pwllheli. Lewis Dwnn gives the following particulars of the family under the heading, "Plwyv Llan Armon yn Eivionydd. Penkoed Ne'r Plas Du Gwehelyth Owen Thomas Owen, Esq." (In the *Book of Golden Grove* it is called Plas Dy ar-Fon.)



If Hugh Owen of Plas Du be not identical with the conspirator, the coincidencies in their history are extraordinary. Both were associated with Pwllheli; both were connected with the Madryn family; both had brothers named Thomas and Robert; both had near relatives named Gwynn or Wynn; both were linked with Shrop-

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shire; the two were contemporaries. The conspirator and his brother Thomas hid themselves from their pursuers in Shropshire. One of the daughters of Thomas Owen, of Plas Du, was married to Morys Tanad, of Shropshire;[1] and John Owen, the Epigrammatist, the third son of Thomas Owen, of Plas Du, dedicated his last book (about 1613) to Sir Roger Owen, the M.P. for Shrewsbury, the son of Thomas Owen, Judge of the Common Pleas, and grandson of Richard Owen, a merchant of Shrewsbury.

Who, then, was the writer of the letter of 1603? According to the endorsement, he was Father Owen, of Mantes, a brother of Hugh Owen, the conspirator. It is somewhat strange that though we find John Owen mentioned on two occasions in the State Papers[2] as Hugh Owen's brother, the Plas Du pedigree does not contain his name. Though this is a somewhat disturbing fact, I do not think it is conclusive against the suggested identification of the conspirator. It will be remembered, also, that the writer mentions a nephew as being at Brussels with Hugh Owen in 1603. It is a pity that the name is not given. But that the Owens of Plas Du were a Catholic family is capable of proof. John Owen, the Epigrammatist, was a younger son of Thomas Owen, of Plas Du. In 1584 he was elected perpetual fellow of New College, Oxford; in 1591, for some unknown reason, he quitted his fellowship and became a schoolmaster at Trelegh, near Monmouth; and in 1594 "he was chosen master of the free school at Warwick, in which station he distinguished himself by his perfect knowledge of Latin, and especially by his poetical abilities. His Latin epigrams obtained him great celebrity, and were universally admired, but fame was his only reward, as he continued poor all his life time."[3] It is true that John Owen wrote some epigrams which were anti-Catholic, especially the famous one, which appeared in the first published collection in 1606:—

> "Ultimus in Solyma Kaiaphas fuit urbe sacerdos:
> Ut perhibent, Roma primus in urbe Kephas."

"For these and similar bits," we are told "his uncle, a

[1] *Dwnn*, ii, 180.
[2] *Hatf. Catal.*, vol. v; *Cott. MSS.*, Caligula E. x, f. 217.
[3] Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 377; Wood's *Ath. Oxon.*, ii, 320; *Dict. Nat. Biography.*

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Roman Catholic, dashed his name out of his last will." But it would appear from this, that until the publication of his first batch of epigrams in 1606, his uncle had never suspected him of an anti-Catholic bias; nor is it improbable that he may have left Oxford and settled in Catholic Monmouth in 1591 on account of his religious beliefs. Be that as it may, Hugh Owen, the conspirator—if he were Hugh Owen of Plas Du—was his uncle, he was (and at least two of his brothers) a Roman Catholic, he was reputed to be rich, and he probably died in 1606, about the time when the publication of John Owen's anti-Catholic epigram cost him his legacy. The fact that Thomas Owen, of Plas Du, served as Sheriff of Carnarvon does not disprove that he had at least Catholic tendencies.[1]

All that can be said, with any approach to certainty, of Hugh Owen Gwenynoc ym Mon, the translator of the *Imitatio Christi*, is that he was quite distinct from the conspirator. What we know of him is contained in the 1684 edition of *Dilyniad Crist*. This has been partly reprinted in the *Traethodydd* of 1874, and Mr. J. H. Davies has referred to it in his valuable paper on "Early Welsh Bibliography."[2] The British Museum possesses no copy of the very rare 1684 edition, and the particular number of the *Traethodydd* is also missing. Sir John Williams, however, has a copy of the book, from which he has kindly allowed me to extract the preface:—

> "At Lawn Ardderchoc Vicounti ac Arglwyddi Baronetti a Marchogion Hybarchus, Boneddigion ac Vchelwyr Parchedic, ac at holl Driganolion mwynion Mon.
>
> "Peth anresymol y fyddai ceisio neb amgenach na chwychwi y Monwysion llawn ardderchoc, Hybarchus, Parchedic a mwynion i amddiffyn, i achlesu, ac i fod yn nodded i'r cyfieithiad ymma; gan fod y cyfieithydd o'r un wlad ac o'r un gwaed a rhan fwyaf ohonochwi, ac mor anwyl garedic i bawb o'ch hynafiaid chwi yn ei amser ef, ac y tybygid nad oedd moi gymmar i'w gael ar hyd holl ardalau Cymru. Yn ddiau nid oedd y pryd hynny un gwr ym Mon a gai fwy croesaw calon yn Neuaddau Barekhel, Presaddfed, &c., nac a gai Huw Owen Gwenynoc, Capten Talebolion: a rhyfedd pafaint oedd caredigrwydd y bobl gyffredin tuacatto. Cymmaint oedd ewyllys da a chariad gwyr ei Gymmwd eihun arno, a'i fod ef trwy eu gwir fodd hwynt yn gallu rhifo deucant a phedwar-

[1] Cf. *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxiii, 25; xxiv, 185.
[2] *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society*, Session 1897-8.

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ugain milwr yn ei Fyddin Drain. Y rhai yr oedd ef gwedi eu trainio a'i dyscu mor gywreigall ymmhob Trefn a Dyscybliaethau milyriol a darfod iddo'n amser Tyrfeydd cyffredinol y Wlad, a'i gwaith campus hwynt, wneuthur nid ychydig o gywilydd a gwaradwydd ar Gaptenniaid y pum Cymmydau ereill i'w glod eihun a'i ganmoliaeth mawr. Ac oherwydd ei ddealltwriaeth rhagorol a'i gywreinrwydd yn y Cyfreithiau (yr hyn nis dyscodd gan nebyn Athro arall ond efe eihun, gartref yn ei studi ei hunan: lle hefyd y dyscodd fedru deall yn llwyr ddigon Ffrengec, Hispanec, Italec, a Dwts, ac yntau y pryd hynny'n wr priod ac yn Dad plant) ei Gymmydogion o bob parth a gyrchent atto, megis at y Cyfreithiwr godidocaf i gael Cyngor yn rhad, ac i gael tynnu a scrifennu eu Gweithredoedd yn ffyddlon. Nid oedd fawr leoedd cyfrifol y prydynny yn Mon, lle nid oeddid yn cadw ac yn prisio'n werth fawr waith ei ddwylo ef. Diammeu yw, tra'r fo'r un Syr Huw Owen yn meddianu Bodeon nas gollyngir yn anghof y Trefn rhagorol a osododd ef ar yr Estad honno. Ac am y Dosparth a wnaeth ef ar Estad Margwes cyntaf Caerfrangon (i'r hwn y bu ugain mlynedd yn secretari o'r ffyddlonaf ac yn fynych yn Ben-controwler ty iddo) mae achos i ammeu nad ydys yn cofio megis y dylid, ddarfod iddo drefnu'r cwbl yn y modd ac y gellid chwanegu'r Ardrethion i fil o bunnau bob blwyddyn yn fwy nag o'r blaen: a hynny heb leihau dim o'r Estad-ymgynnal cynnefin, na gwasgu'r Tenantiaid, na gyrru rhai ereill i ymdynnu a hwynt am eu Ffermau i'w dinistr eu gilydd. Oherwydd yr hynbeth y byddau arfer fod yr ymrafael a'r anghyttundeb mwyaf rhyngtho a'r Arglwydd Cynnilgar hwnw, tra fai'r naill yn mynnu cael y maint mwyaf, a'r llall yn pleidio'n daer dros y teodion gweiniaid rhag iddynt ddioddef gormod trais. Gwaith yn ddiau o drugaredd anaml i'w gael yn y dyddiau hyn gan swyddogion cyffelyb Gwyr Mowrion y rhai sy'n arfer cynffonlonni a gwenieithu eu Meistri ar bob gair a gweithred cyn belled, a bod llaweroedd o honynt gwedi casglu cymaint o arian, a gallu pwrcasu mewn ychydic amser tiroedd o werth llawer cant, a rhai o werth mwy na mil o bunnau'n y flwyddyn. Eithr efe nis cynnullodd (er ei fod ef yn gynnil iawn) mewn ugain mlynedd gymmaint ag a brynnai un bwth neu arddan: ond gwario a wnaeth ardrethau ei estad eihun i faentumio ei hunan a'i was yn y gwychdra yr oedd ei swydd a'i le'n gofyn. Arwydd digon eglur ei fod ef yn caru Duw'n fwy na'r byd ymma. Nid oedd ef chwaith yn gofalu ac yn ymboeni'n unic i wneuthur daioni amserol i'w gymmydogion, eithr hefyd er eu lles tragywyddol hwynt: ef a gyfansododd amryw Draethodau duwiol, a phan nid oedd ef etto ond 27 oed ef a gyfieithodd yn Gymraec *Lyfr y Resolusion* yn ol Editiwn diweddaf a chyflawnaf yr Awdwr eihun (obobtu i ddec arugian mlynedd cyn i D. Davies brintio rhan ohono) a gwedi hyny *Vincentius Lirinensis*, y rhai ysgatfydd a gaant ryw amser weled y goleuni cyhoedd, gan eu bod rwon wedi dyfod i'n dwylo ni gyda'r llyfr Angledol ymma, yr hwn a welsom yn dda ar y cyntaf ei osod allan yn brintiedic, nid yn unig er lles i bawb o'r Cymru: eithr hefyd er Coffa parhaus am ein cyffaill tra anwyl-garedic, gyda'r hwn y buom fyw yn hir amser yn

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Ghastell Rhaglan. Yn siccr rydym yn cydnabod ddarfod i ni wrth ei barotoi i'r Print, yn ambell fannau newid peth o'i areithion Gwynedd ef er mwyn gwneuthur yr holl ymadrodd yn rhwyddach ymhob cwr o Gymru. Erhyny nid ydym yn ammeu, na bydd gwiw gennych chwi amddiffyn a noddi Gwaith eich Cydwladwr canmoledic a'ch Car tra hynod. Yr hyn bethe yn unic yw gostyngeiddlawn Arch a Dymuned

"Eich tra gostyngedic
"Weision
"O Gymydogaeth, "J. H.
"Castell Rhaglan. "S. J."

"RHYBYDD.

"Gan fod llawer o wyr duwiol dyscedic ers talm o amser wedi cyfieithu'r llyfr euraidd ymma'n Gymraec, sef y T. A. Matthew Turbervil o Gastell Benllin (?) ym Morganwg o sanctaidd Grefydd S. Bened, a'r T. A. Thomas Jeffreyes o'r Llechwedd isaf yn agos i Aberconwy o Gymdeithas yr Iesu, a Mr. Huw Parry duwiol Offeiriad Secular (rhan yn unic o waith yr hwn a welsom) a bod Duw rwon ers llawer mwy nac ugain mlynedd wedi eu cymmeryd pob un o honynt atto ef, cyn eu bod yn gallu printio eu Cyfieithiadau, iawn i ninnau eu coffa hwynt ymma, ai canmol am eu bryd a'i hewyllys da o wneuthur lles i'r Cymru."

I have found the attempt to identify Hugh Owen, Gwenynog, singularly thankless, and if I put on record the result of my enquiries, it is in no sense because I think them complete or satisfactory, but solely in order to ease the path of a future investigator. As all our knowledge of his personality is derived from the preface to the 1684 edition, it will be worth while dwelling minutely on each item of information supplied to us by the two editors.

1. First, it should be noted that though the edition was brought out at the cost of "I. H.", the introduction is signed by "eich gostyngedic weision", J. H. and S. J. This is, perhaps, worth noting, as even Mr. J. H. Davies has assumed that the Rev. Father John Hughes was the sole editor, while no one has made any attempt at identifying S. J.

2. Hugh Owen was long dead by 1684, and the editors speak of him as a contemporary of their readers' forefathers ("hynafiaid"), but as the editors say that they had lived with him "for a long time" in Raglan Castle, we may infer that all that was meant was that Hugh Owen belonged to a previous generation.

3. Hugh Owen translated *The Christian Directory* of Father Robert Parsons, from the author's "latest edition", which appeared about 1598.

4. Hugh Owen was at the time twenty-seven years of age.

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5. Now comes a more difficult question. Mr. J. H. Davies[1] interprets the editors as meaning that Hugh Owen's translation was made thirty years before Dr. John Davies's edition appeared. We know that Dr. Davies published his translation in 1632, and we must, therefore, conclude that Hugh Owen translated the *Directory* in 1602. It follows also that, as he was twenty-seven years of age at the time, the date of his birth cannot be placed later than 1575.

Though this is a possible rendering of the Welsh, I think it is incorrect. Nor do I think it is easy or possible to reconcile the other known dates of Hugh Owen's life with this assumption that he was born in or before 1575.

The literal translation of the disputed passage is as follows:—

> "And when he was only twenty-seven years old he translated into Welsh the *Book of the Resolution*, after the last and completest edition of the Author himself (about thirty years before Dr. Davies printed a portion of it)."

Mr. J. H. Davies has pointed out that Dr. Davies, of Mallwyd, did not translate Parsons's own edition, but a garbled and Protestant edition edited by Bunny. I take it that Hugh Owen's editors tacitly reproach Dr. Davies for so doing, exactly as Parsons himself attacked Bunny for bowdlerising the real book. Dr. Davies, they say, only printed a portion, though his version appeared thirty years after "the last and completest edition of the Author himself." They contrast Dr. Davies's incomplete and unsatisfactory version with Hugh Owen's full and faithful rendering, and they hint that they may issue it to the world—a project which was probably frustrated by the re-publication of Dr. Davies's translation in 1684.

If this be the correct rendering of the passage, it deprives it of much of its significance. It does not help us to the date of Hugh Owen, for he may have only been stirred to attempt a translation of the complete and authorised edition after reading Dr. Davies's garbled version, which appeared in 1632. Nor does it follow that he saw that edition immediately on its appearance, or that his emulation was roused at once.

6. The most definite indication of Hugh Owen's date is contained in the statement that he was for twenty years

[1] *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society*, Session 1897-8, p. 14.

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secretary (and sometimes Chief Comptroller of the Household) to the first Marquis of Worcester.

Henry Somerset, the first Marquis of Worcester, was summoned to Parliament as Lord Herbert of Chepstow, in 1603, during the lifetime of his father, the fourth Earl of Worcester. He succeeded to his father's title and estates as Earl of Worcester in 1628. He was created first Marquis in 1642, and died in 1646.[1]

Now the editors distinctly say that they had lived with Hugh Owen at Raglan Castle "for many years". Are we to infer that Hugh Owen served all his twenty years in Monmouthshire? If so, his twenty years' service may have been over before Lord Herbert of Chepstow became Earl of Worcester in 1626. Still, it is hardly likely that even the heir of the wealthiest nobleman in England would require the services of a man of Hugh Owen's position as Chief Comptroller of his household. I am, therefore, inclined to think that this period of service lay in the years after Lord Herbert had succeeded to his father's titles and estates. This is, to some extent, borne out by the interesting account which is given of the rapacity of the "close-fisted nobleman" and the active conscience of his agent.

Even then, however, we are not rid of all difficulty. The first Marquis was only in possession of his estates for eighteen years, from 1628 to 1646. But Hugh Owen is said to have been his secretary for twenty years—and the statement is repeated. Either, therefore, the editors used the words "for twenty years" loosely, or Hugh Owen entered Lord Worcester's service before 1628.

Raglan Castle was the chief seat of the Somersets. It does not appear that Henry Somerset, afterwards the first Marquis, lived there till after his father's death in 1627. He seems to have been busily engaged at the Court and in Parliament, and to have resided in Worcester House, in the Strand.[2] We know, however, that Hugh Owen spent many years in Raglan as Lord Worcester's secretary. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that his residence commenced in 1628, and continued till the first Marquis's death in 1646. In the list of Lord Worcester's household during 1643-46, which is extant,[3] the Comptroller's name is given

[1] Courthope's *Historical Peerages*, p. 520.
[2] Dirck's *Life and Times of Edward, 2nd Marquis.*
[3] Williams's *Hist. of Monmouthshire.*

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as Holland, while the name of the secretary is unfortunately left blank.

In this unsatisfactory state we must for the present leave the question of date, in order to deal with the other clues to his identity.

7. He was, undoubtedly, an Anglesea man. He used so many North Wales idioms and words in his translation that the editors found it necessary to correct them in order to make his Welsh more generally intelligible. As he spent twenty years of his manhood in Monmouthshire, it would follow that he must have received his early training in Anglesea. If he spent, say, from 1628 to 1646, in Raglan Castle, and then returned to Anglesea as "Captain Talebolion", it is not likely that his services as legal draughtsman would be much required, or that in those stirring times "cedunt arma togae". It is, therefore, probable that his fame as a hedge-lawyer was earned before he went to Raglan. He is said to have been always welcome in the halls of Barekhil, Presaddfed, etc., but nothing is said of Bodeon, with which his connection was more intimate. He may even have lived in Bodeon, either during the absence or minority of the owner.

8. The fact that he is praised for his work in connection with the Train Bands of Tal-ebolion, one of the six commotes of Anglesea, would seem to indicate that he was engaged on the King's side during the Civil War (1640-9). This commote is spoken of as being his native district, and he is termed "Captain Talebolion".

9. Though he knew French, Spanish, Italian, and Dutch, he does not seem to have learned them abroad, but "in his study", where he also picked up some law—or what passed for law.

10. He was a layman, for we are told he was married and the father of a family when he learned law and languages.

11. He managed the Bodeon estate in Anglesea so well that

> "as long as there is a Sir Hugh Owen to possess Bodeon, the good order which he instituted on the estate will not be forgotten."

Hugh Owen, be it noted, is not said—as Mr. J. H. Davies assumes in his paper already referred to—to have been "steward to Sir Hugh Owen, of Bodeon", but only that he put that estate into good order. This distinction will become important later on. Sir Hugh Owen, kt.,

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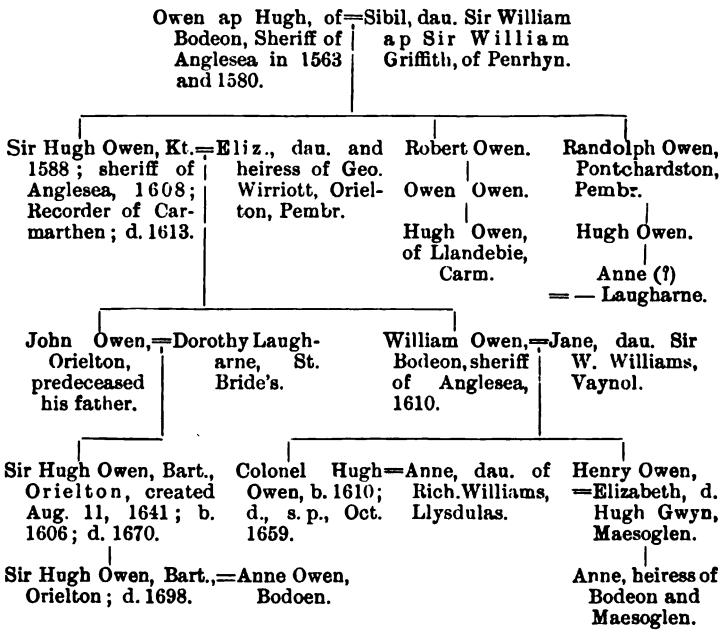
owned the Bodeon estate during the first thirteen years of the seventeenth century. It was left by him to his second son, William Owen. It remained in the junior branch till 1670, when Sir Hugh Owen, first Baronet of Orielton, in Pembrokeshire, the grandson of the Sir Hugh Owen, kt., died. His son, Sir Hugh Owen, the second Baronet, married his cousin, Anne Owen, the heiress of Bodeon, and so the Anglesea estate once more reverted to the elder branch.

The following pedigree, which has been compiled from materials found in *Inquis. Post Mortem*, 12 Jas. I, 2nd pt., p. 166; *ib.*, 11 Jas. I, 2nd pt., 1104, Chancery; Lewis Dwnn (ii, 206); the *Book of Golden Grove* (vol. ii, Angl. Adv., p 27; L, 1798; N, 1997; I, 1299); and several MSS. in the British Museum (*Harl. MSS.*, 1967, f. 535-6; 1975, f. 80; 1974, f. 30, a.c.d. 15c, 559; 1976-96, f. 97a; *Add. MSS.*, 28033-4, p. 502) will explain the varying fortunes of the Owens of Bodeon and Orielton.



In the above pedigree there occur the names of three Hugh Owens, who might conceivably be the translator. But (1) Hugh Owen, of Llandebie, was a South Walian, while the translator had no known connection with Carmarthenshire; (2) Hugh Owen, of Ponchardstown (Pun-

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chiston), was also a South Walian; and (3) Colonel Hugh Owen, of Bodeon, whose date and residence fit in admirably, is also impossible.

a. The translator was presumably, if not certainly, a Catholic. The household of Lord Worcester, according to Dr. Baily, was equally composed of Protestants and Catholics, between whom there were no disputations or quarrels.[1] Colonel Hugh Owen, of Bodeon, to whom his widow erected a beautiful memorial in Llangadwaladr Church in 1561, was almost certainly a Protestant.

b. The translator was known as "Captain" Talebolion; Hugh Owen, of Bodeon, was "Colonel."

c. The translator is said to have been married, and "the father of a family": Colonel Hugh Owen died without issue.

d. Bodeon was situate in the commote of Malltraeth: Hugh Owen is said to have been a native of Talebolion.

Mention is made in the State Papers of a Hugh Owen, cousin to the first Baronet, who may be quite a distinct personage from those mentioned above.

In the complaint made on July 18, 1649, by Tho. Lloyd, to the Council for Advance of Money,[2] it is said that:—

"Sir Hugh Owen sate severall days at the Junto at Oxford.

. . . . . .

"That he hath severall tymes importunately endeavoured to persuade severall persons to ingage themselves to take arms with Poyer and Powell against the Parliament in the said warres.

"That Hugh Owen, a kinsman of the said Sir Hugh Owen, and one specially intrusted by the said Sir Hugh Owen with his counselles and whole estate, did personally assist Poyer in the second warre, and continued in arms in the towne of Pembroke," etc.

In the "articles" against Sir Hugh, it is stated that after the reduction of Pembrokeshire, he went from Oxford to Anglesey, where he lived till Anglesea was also subjected to Parliament, and

"That yr sd Sir Hugh Owen, haveinge his family resident in ye county of Pembroke, and one Hugh Owen his kinsman, beinge steward there of the sayd Sir Hugh Owen, caused his kinsman Hugh Owen to send in provisions of victuall and come to Poyer in ye towne and castle of Pembroke,

[1] Worcester's *Apophthegms*.

[2] *Calendar of Commis. for Adv. of Money; Dom.*, 1642-1656, pt. ii, p. 875-6; vol. A. 21, no. or p. 98; *v.* also vol. A. 118, no. or p. 16 and 17.

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> after Poyer was proclaimed traytor by ordnance of Parliament . . . . and upon the surrender of the said castle and towne [to Cromwell in 1648] the said Hugh Owen was there taken prisoner with other of the sayd Sir Hugh Owen's servants and tenants."

Sir Hugh Owen, who was put on the Commission of the Peace for Anglesea in 1642, is further said to have estates in Anglesea of the value of £1,000 a year, which had been sequestered because he had not surrendered in February 1646. His Pembrokeshire estates had been previously sequestered.

It is, however, incredible that the editors of the 1684 book would have failed to mention so picturesque a fact about Hugh Owen of Gwenynog, as that he had been taken prisoner by Cromwell, if it had been the translator that fought with Poyer in the Second Civil War. Probably Sir Hugh Owen's cousin was the Hugh Owen, of Punchiston, already referred to.

I regret that I can only offer negative conclusions, but even they may not be without value in the present state of our knowledge. I am inclined to believe, but without any more substantial evidence to go upon than I have indicated–

(1) That Hugh Owen of Gwenynog was probably a scion belonging to a junior branch of the Owens of Bodeon.

(2) That he managed Bodeon before entering the service of Lord Worcester, it may be *(a)* in the time of Sir Hugh Owen, kt., and before the marriage of his son, William Owen, of Bodeon (sheriff 1610, when also his son, Colonel Hugh Owen was born); or it may be (*b*) after W. Owen's death and during the minority of his son, who came of age in 1631; or possibly *(c)* after his return to Anglesea, and after the death of Colonel Hugh Owen in 1659; and (3) that though the translator was "Captain Talebolion", it is not said that he took part in the Civil War, a fact which the editors would not have been likely to omit in 1684, if such had been the case. I infer from this, either that the translator was at Raglan during the war, or that he was too old to take part in it after his return to Anglesea (if return he did).

G. Simpson, Printer, Devizes.

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Cymmrodorion Record Series.

PUBLICATIONS.

No. I.

THE DESCRIPTION OF PENBROKSHIRE (1603),

By GEORGE OWEN, of Henllys, Lord of Kemes. Edited, with Notes and an Appendix, by HENRY OWEN, D.C.L. (Oxon.), F.S.A. 1892. Vol. I, being Parts I and II of OWEN'S PEMBROKESHIRE. Price 21*s.*

No. II.

THE COURT ROLLS OF THE LORDSHIP OF RUTHIN, or Dyffryn-Clwyd, of the Reign of King Edward I (1294-5).

Edited, with Notes and Translation, by RICHARD ARTHUR ROBERTS, of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Price 21*s.*, to members of the Society 10*s.* 6*d.*

No. III.

GILDAE DE EXCIDIO BRITANNIAE, Fragmenta, Liber de Paenitentia, accedit et Lorica Gildae.

(Gildas: the Ruin of Britain, Fragments from Lost Letters, the Penitential, together with the Lorica of Gildas.) Edited by HUGH WILLIAMS, M.A., Professor of Church History at the Theological College, Bala. In 3 parts. Parts I and II issued. Price 21*s.*; to members of the Society, 10*s.* 6*d.*

No. IV.

A CATALOGUE OF MSS. RELATING TO WALES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Compiled and Edited by EDWARD OWEN, of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. In 3 Parts. Part I issued, containing list of MSS. from the following collections—the Cottonian, Lansdowne, Royal, Hargrave, Burney, Arundel, and Church Briefs. Price 21*s.*

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THE BLACK BOOK OF ST. DAVID'S.

An Extent of the Lands and Rents of the Lord Bishop of St. David's, made by Master DAVID FRAUNCEYS, Chancellor of St. David's in the time of the Venerable Father the Lord David Martyn, by the Grace of God Bishop of the place, in the year of our Lord 1326. Edited by J. W. WILLIS BUND. Price 21*s.*; to members of the Society, 10*s.* 6*d.*

In Preparation.

THE WRITINGS OF GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH.

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Cymmrodorion Record Series.

FIRST PROSPECTUS.

THE idea of the publication of Welsh Records, which had for some time occupied the thoughts of leading Welsh Scholars, took a definite and practical shape at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod held at Brecon in 1889. In the papers which were read at that meeting it was shown that a vast quantity of material necessary for understanding the history of Wales still remained buried in public and private Libraries, and also that such of the Welsh Chronicles as had been given to the world had been edited in a manner which had not fulfilled the requirements of modern scholarship.

As it appeared that the Government declined to undertake any further publication of purely Welsh Records, it was suggested by Sir John Williams that the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society should take the work in hand, and establish a separate fund for that purpose.

The Council are of opinion that a work of this magnitude cannot be left to private enterprise, although they thankfully acknowledge the indebtedness of all Welshmen to such men as Mr. G. T. Clark of Talygarn, the Rev. Canon Silvan Evans, Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, Mr. Owen Edwards, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, and Professor John Rhys, and they fully appreciate the valuable work done by members of the various Antiquarian Societies.

Private enterprise has enabled the Council to issue, without cost to the Society, the first number of the Series which they have undertaken. The edition of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, two parts of which have already been issued), is the result to Mr. Henry Owen—a member of the Society's Council—of long and arduous labour, and of an expenditure of a sum of money which would enable any patriotic Welshman who follows that example to present similar numbers of the proposed Series to his countrymen.

The second number of the Series consists of Records from the Ruthin Court Rolls (A.D. 1294-5), edited by Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of the Public Record Office. *A Catalogue of the Welsh Manuscripts in the British Museum*; a transcript of *The Black Book of St. David's*, and new editions of *Nennius* and *Gildas* are in course of preparation.

In the future numbers of the Series will be published, from public or private MSS., with Introductions and Notes by competent scholars, such Records as will throw light on some period of Welsh History. These publications will, the Council trust, go far to remove from the Principality the dishonour of being the only nation in Europe which is without anything approaching to a scientific history.

It is hoped to issue annually one number of the Series. The cost of each number will, it is anticipated, be about £250. To ensure a continuity of publication, it is necessary to form a Permanent Capital Fund, and this the Society of Cymmrodorion have resolved to do. This Fund, of which Sir John Williams, Bart., Sir W. Thomas Lewis, Bart., and Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A., are the Trustees, will be under the control of the Council, but will be kept separate from the general fund of the Society. It will be applicable solely to the purposes herein designated, and an account of receipts and payments will be submitted to each contributor.

Towards the expenses of publication the Council have found themselves in a position to set aside, from time to time, from the Society's General Fund the sum of £150, a contribution which they trust a large accession of members to the ranks of the Society will speedily enable them to augment.

The Council confidently appeal to all Welshmen for sympathy and help in this really national enterprise. Welshmen are proverbially proud of the antiquities of their land. To place the record of these antiquities within the reach of every Welsh student in an accurate and intelligible form, and to enable him to understand the growth of the national and individual life, is a work which should unite all Welshmen for the benefit of their countrymen, and for the honour of Wales.

BUTE, *President.*
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***** Cheques may be sent to E. VINCENT EVANS, Secretary to the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 64, Chancery Lane, W.C., crossed "London Joint Stock Bank, Limited, to the credit of the Cymmrodorion Record Series Fund."**

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FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF

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The

Transactions

of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1902-03.

LONDON:
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.
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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

Y Cymmrodor, Vols. ii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii. New Series, Vols. xiii, xiv, xv, and xvi. 10*s.* 6*d.* per volume. [Vols. i and iii are out of print.]

The History of the Cymmrodorion. Out of print.

A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe, by Wyllyam Salesbury (1547). Facsimile, black letter. 4 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

The Gododin of Aneurin Gwawdrydd, by Thomas Stephens, Author of *The Literature of the Kymry.* 6 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

An Essay on Pennillion Singing (Hanes ac Henafiaeth Canu gyda'r Tannau), by J. Jones (*Idris Vychan*). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Ystorya de Carolo Magno (from the "Red Book of Hergest"). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Athravaeth Gristnogavl (from the unique copy belonging to the late Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, originally printed at Milan, A.D. 1568). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Blessednes of Brytaine, by Maurice Kyffin (1587). 1 part, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Gerald the Welshman, by Henry Owen, D.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Demy 8vo., vellum cloth, gilt, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Gweithiau Iolo Goch: Gyda Nodiadau Hanesyddol a Beirniadol, gan Charles Ashton. **The Works of Iolo Goch.** Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion for 1892-93, 1893-94, 1894-95, 1895-96, 1896-97, 1897-98, 1898-99, 1899-1900, 1900-01, 1901-02, 1902-3. 10*s.* 6*d.* per number.

IN THE CYMMRODORION RECORD SERIES.

The Description of Pembrokeshire, by George Owen of Henllys. Edited by Henry Owen, D.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Being No. 1 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* 2 parts, 21*s.*

The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin or Dyffryn-Clwyd, of the Reign of King Edward the First, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited, with Translations, Notes, etc., by R. Arthur Roberts, of H.M. Public Record Office. Being No. 2 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

Gildae de Excidio Britanniae, Liber de Paenitentia, accedit et Lorica Gildae. (Gildas: the Ruin of Britain, Fragments from Lost Letters, the Penitential, together with the Lorica of Gildas.) Parts I and II. Edited by Hugh Williams, M.A., Professor of Church History at the Theological College, Bala. Being No. 3 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* In Three Parts. Price 21*s.*

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum. Parts I & II. Compiled and Edited by Edward Owen, of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. Being No. 4 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

The Black Book of St. David's. An Extent of all the Lands and Rents of the Lord Bishop of St. David's, made by Master David Fraunceys, Chancellor of St. David's in the time of the Venerable Father the Lord David Martyn, by the grace of God Bishop of the place, in the year of our Lord 1326. Edited by J. W. Willis-Bund. Being No. 5 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.*

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OF

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SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

SESSION 1902-1903.

LONDON:

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REPORT

OF

THE COUNCIL OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the Year ending November 9th, 1903.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING, HELD AT THE SOCIETY'S ROOMS, ON THURSDAY, THE 19TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1903.

THE Council, in submitting their Annual Report to the meeting, congratulate the members on the completion of the third decade of the Society's existence since its re-establishment in 1873. During that period it may claim in some measure to have carried out the main objects for which it was revived: it has brought Welshmen of all parties and creeds into closer contact, it has enabled them to unite their efforts for the advancement of the welfare of their country, and it has borne a fair share in the improvement of Education, and in the encouragement of Literature, Science, and Art as connected with Wales. For the purpose of carrying on its work still more effectively, the Council appeal for the more active and personal support of each individual member.

During the past year thirty-four new members were added to the ranks of the Society. It has suffered severely through the removal by death of a comparatively large number of its oldest and most faithful supporters, including

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also two of its honorary members. Professor E. B. Cowell, of Cambridge, in earlier years took an active part in the Society's discussions and contributed to its journal, and to the end maintained his interest in its work. The death of the Rev. Canon Silvan Evans, the other honorary member to whom we refer, was a severe, if not an irreparable, loss to Welsh learning. It was the intention of the Society, through some of the members of its Council, to further the publication of the remaining volumes of Silvan Evans' great *Welsh Dictionary*, and certain arrangements had been made with his publisher to that effect, with the result that another section of the *Dictionary* is now ready for publication. His death, however, has made other arrangements necessary, and at the present moment the Council rejoice in the hope that the work may eventually be accomplished through the medium of the Guild of Graduates of the University of Wales. The death of the Very Rev. Dean Howell, of St. David's, deprived the Society of one of its oldest members, and the Principality of an ardent patriot, an eloquent divine, and a popular Churchman. More recently the Society had to deplore the loss of the Very Rev. Dean Pryce, of Bangor, whose contributions to Welsh Literature are known to most of the members. The obituary list includes, amongst others, Archdeacon Lewis, of St. David's; Captain Lloyd Philipps, of Pentyparc; Dr. James Phillips, of Cardigan, and Mr. William Thomas, of Brynawel, Aberdare.

In the course of the past year the following meetings have been held in London:

1902.

November 20.—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS. Chairman: Mr. J. W. Willis-Bund.

December 15.—Paper on "The Decay of Tribalism in North Wales," by Mr. Edward Arthur Lewis. Chairman: Mr. Frederic Seebohm, LL.D.

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1903.

February 24.—Paper on "The Rules and Metres of Welsh Poetry," by the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis. Chairman: Mr. Frank Edwards, M.P.

March 12.—ANNUAL DINNER, Lord Tredegar in the Chair, and Sir John Williams, Bart., as Guest of the Society.

May 26.—Paper on "Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times," by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. Chairman: Colonel E. Pryce-Jones, M.P.

July 6.—ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE, held by permission of the Master and Wardens at the Clothworkers' Hall, Throgmorton Avenue.

In Llanelly, in the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod, meetings were held:—

On Monday evening, August 3rd, 1903, at 7.30 p.m., at the Town Hall, Llanelly, when addresses (followed by a discussion) were delivered on the subject of "National Museums for Wales," by Mr. D. Brynmôr Jones, K.C., M.P.; Mr. J. Herbert Lewis, M.P., and Principal T. F. Roberts, M.A. Chairman: Mr. W. Wilkins, J.P., Chairman of the Llanelly Borough Council.

On Wednesday, August 5th, at 9 a.m., at the Town Hall, when the same subject was further discussed. Chairman: Sir John Williams, Bart.

As the result of the discussion a Resolution was passed unanimously asking the Welsh Parliamentary Committee, before they finally committed themselves to any particular scheme for a National Museum or Museums for Wales, to convene a thoroughly representative meeting of Welsh authorities to further discuss the matter, it being apparent from the discussion that there existed considerable differences of opinion with regard to the nature and the scope of the Institutions required for Museum purposes. The Council are glad to record the success of the meetings held at Llanelly, and have tendered their thanks to Mr. Wilkins, Chairman of the Borough Council; Sir John Williams, Bart., who presided in place of Sir Lewis Morris, and to Mr. Brynmôr Jones, M.P., and Principal Roberts,

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who attended at Llanelly to read papers on the subject under discussion.

During the year the following Publications have been issued to the members:—

Y Cymmrodor, Vol. XVI, containing, "A Welsh Insurrection" (the story of Rhys ap Griffith), by W. Llewelyn Williams, B.C.L. Oxon.; "Old County Families of Dyfed" II (the Wogans of Merion and Somersetshire—with Pedigree), by Francis Green; "The Holy Grail": a Discrimination of the Native and Foreign Elements of the Legend; and *Reviews* of "Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Bangor": "Y Farddonaeth a'i Beirniadaeth," by R. A. Griffith (*Elphin*); Henry Owen's "Old Pembroke Families in the Ancient County Palatine of Pembroke," by J. H. Davies, M.A.; and J. E. Morris' "Welsh Wars of Edward I," by Hubert Hall, F.S.A.: and *Correspondence* relating to "The Two Hugh Owens," contributed by H. R. Hughes, of Kinmel, and W. Prichard Williams.

The Transactions for the Session 1901-02, containing Papers on "The Re-naming of Welshmen," by T. E. Morris, LL.M.; "The Romance of Welsh Education," by T. Marchant Williams, Stipendiary Magistrate; "Welsh Catholics on the Continent," by W. Llewelyn Williams, B.C.L.Oxon., with Appendices and Facsimiles; a List of Books in the Society's Library, catalogued by Dr. Alfred Daniell, M.A.; and the Report of the Council and Financial Statement for the year 1901-02.

Part II of *A Catalogue of the MSS. relating to Wales in the British Museum*, compiled and edited by Edward Owen, of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, a volume of nearly 600 pp. dealing with the Harleian Collection.

The third part of the *Catalogue*, which is already in preparation, will consist of the Deeds, Charters, and Rolls relating to Wales preserved at the British Museum. These, with the exception of the Charters, etc., relating to the County of Glamorgan, have been left altogether unused for the general and local history of the Principality.

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The Rev. Professor Hugh Williams has also in preparation the final part of his Edition of Gildas.

In regard to the Record Series, the Council desire again to call the attention of the members to the great expense attaching to the printing and production of these most important additions to the Society's publications, and to appeal to members for donations to the separate Special Fund, out of which this expense is defrayed. The Trustees of the Fund are Sir Wm. Thomas Lewis, Bart., Dr. Henry Owen, and Sir John Williams, Bart.

The Transactions for the year closing are in hand and will be issued early in 1904. The volume contains Mr. Edward Lewis' paper on "The Decay of Tribalism in North Wales," with important appendices; the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis' paper on "The Rules and Metres of Welsh Poetry," with many illustrative quotations; and Mr. Romilly Allen's paper on "Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times."

Y Cymmrodor, Vol. xvii, is also in preparation, and is to contain the continuation of the important contribution on "The Holy Grail" by an anonymous, but thoroughly competent, writer; a Description of the Silver Plate at Jesus College, Oxford, with Illustrations and Historical and Biographical Notes, by Mr. E. Alfred Jones, a member of this Society and an expert on the subject of Church and other Plate; a paper on Walter Map and his Tales of the Welsh Border, by Mr. E. Sidney Hartland, F.S.A.; a paper on "The Life of St. Germanus by Constantius", by the Rev. S. Baring Gould, M.A.; Correspondence between Dr. John Davies, Mallwyd, and Sir Simonds D. Ewes, transcribed by Mr. Edward Owen, and translated by the Rev. G. Hartwell Jones, M.A., and other contributions.

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The arrangements for the coming Session include promises of the following papers:—

"Henry Morgan the Buccaneer," by Mr. W. Llewelyn Williams, B.C.L. Oxon.

"Welsh Interludes and Twm or Nant," by Mr. Isaac Foulkes (Llyfrbryf).

"The Origin of the Welsh Englyn and Kindred Metres," by Professor John Rhys, LL.D.

"Prolegomena to the Study of Old Welsh Poetry," by Professor Edward Anwyl, M.A., and

"Sir John Philipps, of Picton, and the Welsh Circulatory Schools," by the Rev. Thomas Shankland, B.A.

It has been decided to hold the Annual Dinner of the Society in the month of February 1904, and to invite Sir Lewis Morris to be the Society's guest on that occasion.

Under the Society's Rules the term of office of the following Officers expires:—

THE PRESIDENT.
THE VICE-PRESIDENTS,
THE AUDITORS,

and ten members retire in accordance with Rule 4, but all are eligible for re-election, viz.:—

MR. R. HENRY JENKINS.
REV. G. HARTWELL JONES, M.A.
REV. H. ELVET LEWIS.
T. E. MORRIS, LL.M., M.A.
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PROF. FREDERICK T. ROBERTS, M.D.

The audited and certified Statement of Account for the year is appended to this Report.

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Cr. *Dr.*

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1902 ..	60	10	1
„ Subscriptions received	390	9	10
„ Sale of Publications	22	19	0
	£473	18	11

	£	s.	d.
By Rent of Offices, Fire and Lighting ..	72	2	8
„ Publications: Cost of Printing and Distributing			
The Transactions, 1901-02 £93 8 2			
Y Cymmrodor, Vol. XVI 70 13 2			
	164	1	4
„ Donation to Cymmrodorion Record Series	50	0	0
„ General Printing	14	3	9
„ Eisteddfod Section Expenses ..	7	10	0
„ Lectures, Meetings, and Conversazione	49	7	9
„ Library Expenses	1	8	10
„ Stationery, Postage, and General Expenses	25	8	4
„ Commission on Publications Sold and Subscriptions (1902)	16	13	3
„ Secretary's Remuneration	50	0	0
„ Balance in hand	23	3	0
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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1902–1903.

THE DECAY OF TRIBALISM IN NORTH WALES.[1]

By EDWARD A. LEWIS.

Prefatory Note.

The scope of the present paper is purposely confined, in point of time mainly to the fourteenth century, in point of place to the Principality of North Wales, and in point of subject to the decay of a few features of Cymric tribalism. It thus covers but a very small fractional part of what is in itself a wide subject.

The problem of Welsh economic history is threefold. It is concerned, firstly, with the question of what Cymric tribalism originally was; secondly, with the process of its decay; and lastly, with the result, or the development, of economic conditions as they appear in Wales to-day. These points of view represent respectively the ancient, the medieval, and the modern phases of Welsh economic

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, at 20, Hanover Square, on Monday, 15th December 1902. Chairman, Frederic Seebohm, Esq., LL.D.

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history. This paper deals with some aspects of the problem in its medieval phase. Acting upon a suggestion made when the following paper was read, a few introductory remarks are prefated here by way of illustrating a few features of what the decay of tribalism may be said to consist. These will the more readily appeal to us if we consider some of the more general contrasts perceptible between ancient and modern Wales.

(1.) A Change in the Sovereignty of Wales.

One contrast that immediately occurs to the admirers of Llywelyn ein Llyw Ola', and particularly to those interested in his "cofgolofn", is that Old Wales was once upon a time ruled by her own princes, whereas Modern Wales is governed by an English sovereign. This is a convenient way of expressing one feature in the decay of tribalism. It involves the extinction of the royal hierarchy of Welsh chieftains, and the absorption of the rights they enjoyed into the hands of the English sovereign.

The sovereignty of Wales, in the course of its history, has changed hands. The process revolutionised its character. The relation between the tribal chieftain of, say, the seventh century, and his subjects was primarily one of kinship,[1] the relation was not one of tenancy, as in the case of a feudal lord. The relation between the English Crown and Welshmen to-day is not one of kinship, but of tenancy, or what amounts to that. Welshmen are no longer members of a kindred, but subjects of the English realm.

This change in the root idea of the sovereignty of Wales was a slow one. It includes the long story of its transition

[1] *Tribal System in Wales* (Dr. Seebohm), p. 71.

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from tribal to feudal grounds, which was brought about (1) by the development of possible feudal tendencies that were probably inherent in the tribal system itself;[1] (2) by the Norman or English conquest, culminating with the Act of Union in 1536.

(2.) A Change in the Administration of Wales.

Another contrast, presented by ancient and modern Wales, resulting chiefly from the above change in the sovereignty of Wales, is the method of its administration. The old Wales of petty kingdoms has become the modern Wales and Monmouthshire of thirteen counties. The absorption of the royal rights enjoyed by the old Welsh chieftains into the hands of the English Crown is accompanied by the assimilation of the objective units, that gave them their reality, into one common system. This was accomplished by the extension of the shire system into Wales.

The divided and separated administration of old Wales has undergone the influence of a strong centralising power, which has made the old Wales of "petty kingdoms" the modern Wales of "counties". The connecting link between the old and the new is supplied by the medieval Wales of "commotes and lordships". The formation of lordships in Wales is attributed to the direct (as in the case of Pembroke) or to the indirect (as in the case of Powys) influence of the Norman conquest. The origin of the commote is doubtful, but it readily allowed assimilation to the idea of a manor or lordship.[2] The relation of

[1] *Tribal System in Wales*, p. 135; *Ancient Tenures of Land in the Marches of North Wales* (A. Neobard Palmer), "the manorial system in part a development and in part a new order imposed from without"—p. 73, and c. ix on the whole subject.

[2] *Ancient Tenures of Land &c., in North Wales*, pp. 95-8.

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both commote and lordship to the hundreds of the modern Welsh counties may be inferred from the Statute of Wales, 12 Edward I, and that of 27 Henry VIII.

This change in both the exercise and administration of royal rights in Wales is the chief feature in the decay of tribal politics. It was brought about (1) by the gradual ousting of the representatives of the line of Rhodri of their princely rights by the English sovereign and the Norman lord; (2) by the overthrowal of the marcher lord by the English Crown. Royal rights in Wales from the eleventh to the thirteenth century are exercised by the Welsh prince, the English king, and the Norman lord. In 1282 the Welsh prince disappears, in 1536 the marcher lord follows suit, leaving the Crown in sole possession.

Outwardly looked at, this decay of tribal politics is the story of the centralisation of royal power, and its consolidation by the shire system. How far these external changes actuated upon the internal or economic features of tribalism is another consideration, even these are said to exhibit the modifications which arise from the influence of a strong centralising power, and this at a date prior to the introduction of the shire system.[1]

(3.) A Change in the Economy of Wales.

The third and last contrast that we shall mention is the changed character of Cymric economy. The petty kingdoms of tribal Wales consisted of a number of vills occupied by a number of family groups (*weles*), some bond and some free. The counties of modern Wales (rural), consist of a number of farms severally occupied by individual families, all nominally free. Without pushing the par-

[1] *Early Hist. of Institutions* (Sir H. Maine), p. 19.

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ticular parallels of this contrast too far, it may serve to express the changes that have taken place in the structure and methods of Welsh economy, namely (1), in the unit of landownership and the incidents of tenure, (2) in the unit of husbandry and the methods of cultivation, (3) and in the *personnel* of the people from legally bond and free, to legally free.

(1) This transition from communal to individual economy must account for the dissolution of the old family groups, and for the specialisation to, or alienation from, individuals of the lands to which their family group, as an unit in the kindred, had tribal rights. In the following paper an attempt is made to note the forces that gradually contributed to the above changes; in both instances we regard the process of change as the disintegration of the wele.

Welsh students are particularly indebted to Dr. Seebohm, for the invaluable light which he has thrown upon the relation of the family group to the land in his volume on *The Tribal System in Wales*. Here it is shown that the rights of the family group to the land were neither centred in its individual members, nor in the members of the group as a whole, but in the *uchelwr*, or headman, of the wele. This was the typical state of landownership in tribal Wales, as illustrated by the extent of Denbigh, the peculiar feature of which is its patriarchal character.

It will be noticed that all rights to land were theoretically centred in the headman of the family group. The subsidiary members, in virtue of their relation to him, claimed undivided shares of these rights. The point in the decay is this. When did landownership in Wales lose this patriarchal character? When were the rights that were centred in the uchelwr diffused among the hereditary members of the wele? or, what is perhaps equivalent, when were the family lands identified?

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When did the tie of kinship cease to be the chief determinant of land tenure in its wider aspects? Would it be narrowed when the landed rights of the wele, from being embodied in the head of the family group, became implanted in the family lands—*i.e.*, when the term wele represents a defined territorial area occupied by a family group, rather than a bundle of rights to land centred in the head of the wele?

The identification of the patriarchal rights of the several family groups, with acknowledged areas of land, must form a stage in the transition from a patriarchal to what was gradually becoming a more and more feudalised community. In the *Record of Carnarvon*, vills are frequently described as containing so many weles. Are we to imply by this that the vill contains so many family groups possessing undivided rights to the lands of the vill, or something more? Can we go so far as to say that their rights to land are associated with defined districts (weles); and, further, that each of these defined districts is subdivided in some fashion among the lawful members of the group?

We must perhaps feudalise the patriarchal community, before we can attempt to severalise it. The growth of a several ownership has its origin in the separate homestead, its development in the allotment of arable lands, reaching its climax at a comparatively modern date in the enclosure of common mountain or pasture lands. Evidence of the territorial character of the wele, as of the many forces that were contributing to its gradual severalisation during the fourteenth century, will be found in the following paper.

To the above change in the character and unit of landownership we must add the concomitant changes in the method and conditions of its tenure, *i.e.*, the gradual

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income of English law[1] and custom. For instance, primogeniture supplants gavelkind, and the system of conveyance by fine, recovery, feoffment, and livery of seisin supersedes the old Welsh custom of surrender in court.[2] The payment of rents, the rendering of services, etc., were, as elsewhere, modified by the fact of commutation.

(2) Parallel to the above changes in the unit and methods of land tenure, we have corresponding changes in the unit and methods of husbandry. Co-aration gradually, though not necessarily, ceased with the severalising of the arable lands. In its pastoral form the communal element died hard. Losing its grip upon the co-aration section of husbandry, the communal element became less and less real; it passed from operations connected with the sustenance of persons to those connected with the maintenance of beasts, and is ultimately expelled, though not yet wholly, from the latter domain. Here we may also note the introduction of carucates, oxlands, bovates, etc., measures that are said to have been never known to the "auntient Welshmen".[3]

(3) Of the changes in the *personnel* of Welsh economy it will be sufficient to note the slow emancipation of the villain class, and the gradual transition of the *sine qua non* of a Welshman from the domain of blood to that of land. Wales is no longer the land inhabited by Welshmen, but Welshmen are the men who inhabit Wales. Economically we could include the rise of the town and industrial

[1] On this subject, see "English Law in Wales and the Marches", by Dr. Henry Owen (*Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xiv, 1900). A valuable list of reference works will be found on pp. 30-32.

[2] Clive's *Ludlow*, pp. 103-106.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 112. See also *Tribal System in Wales*, p. 44; *Ancient Tenures in the Marches of N. Wales*, p. 35, and *The Black Book of St. David's* (edited by Mr. J. W. Willis Bund), introduction, pp. lx-lxiii.

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classes, but these belong to the development of the new rather than the decay of the old.

Bearing these general remarks in mind, the relation of the following paper to the question of the decay of tribalism will be the more evident. The paper, as will be seen, deals mainly with the third aspect, namely, the change in the economy of Wales. The first two sections, viz., the changes in the sovereignty and administration of Wales are generally treated of in the earlier portion of the paper (pp. 9-18), in so far as they lead up to the origin of the materials upon which the latter portion is based. Here we treat of the outline of the decay of tribal customs (pp. 19-20), with the character of the North Welsh wele (pp. 21-25), and its gradual disintegration (*a*) by the natural process (pp. 25-28), (*b*) by Escheats (pp. 28-39), and with the influence of the municipal element (pp. 39-44) and the Black Death (pp. 44-47) respectively upon the economy of North Wales. This is followed by a brief conclusion (pp. 47-50).

The illustrative instances have for the most part been relegated to the Appendices, but some have been quoted at length in the footnotes, in order to exhibit in a small degree the nature and value of the evidence contained in the Ministers' Accounts for the elucidation of topics of national interest. The majority of the documents in the Appendices are now printed for the first time. They have been largely utilised for the purposes of this paper, but not in any way exhaustive. Their value, as well as of the additional lists of Original Authorities, will be found chiefly in the small addition which they make to the comparatively scanty apparatus now available for the scientific study of Welsh History.

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In the following paper we propose to deal with some of the conditions and circumstances that attended the decay of tribalism in the Principality of North Wales during the fourteenth century.

The Principality of North Wales at this time corresponded roughly to the modern counties of Anglesea, Carnarvon, and Merioneth.[1] The material upon which this paper is based, is for the most part confined to some of the Ministers' Accounts that are available for these three counties.

In the light of what has been already said, it will be seen that the story of the decay of tribalism is the story of the gradual change in the relation of the Welsh princes to the land over which they ruled, and of the still slower change in the relation of the Welsh people to the land upon which they lived.

The fall of Llewelyn ap Gruffudd in 1282, divides the story of this decay into two well-defined epochs.

Previous to 1282, the story must be chiefly drawn from the evidence of Welsh and other chronicles. These generally narrate the occasional activity of Cymric chieftains, and form our almost sole authority for the decay of tribal politics. After 1282 we are enabled to supplement the evidence of the chronicler with the testimony of the records. The latter are often concerned with the every-day activity of the Welsh people, and thus directly illustrate the decay of tribal economy.

Now the decay of tribal politics and the decay of tribal economy are but the outer and inner aspects of the decay of tribalism. This paper deals chiefly with the latter aspect, but the political aspect is briefly considered, in so

[1] As to extent, see *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. ix, p. 223.

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far as it leads up to and explains some traits in the economic condition of North Wales in the fourteenth century.

One of the main features in the political history of Wales up to 1282 is the contrast between the Cymric chieftain of the seventh century, and his last prototype, Llewelyn ap Gruffudd, in the thirteenth. The Cymric chieftain of the seventh century, was the local chieftain of a tribalism that covered the whole of Wales,[1] Llewelyn ap Gruffudd was the national prince of that quasi-tribalism confined to the Principality by the Treaty of Conway.[2]

The Welsh history of six centuries will explain the contrast. On the one hand we witness the gradual diminution of the independent Principality of 616, by the formation of marcher lordships. On the other hand, we perceive the consolidation of the remnant into the dependent Principality of 1277. A question that may be asked here is this: What relation exists between the Cymric chieftain of the seventh century, in his local capacity as the head of a clan or petty kingdom, and the Welsh prince of the thirteenth century, in his national posture as the head of the Welsh people of the Principality? In short, what change had taken place in the phenomenon of Cymric sovereignty from the seventh to the thirteenth century?

We know that the regalia (*mutatis mutandis*) enjoyed by the Welsh chieftains of the seventh century and later centuries were ultimately either diffused among the marcher-lords on the outside, or absorbed by the House of Rhodri on the inside. The subtraction of Cymric *regalia* from without by the Norman lord and his followers is

[1] *The Welsh People*, p. 129; "Wales . . . . aggregate of clans, or petty kingdoms"; *Ib.*, p. 134.

[2] *Fœdera*, vol. i, p. 2, p. 547.

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accompanied by a process of consolidation from within by the princes of Dinevwr, Powys, and Gwynedd.

In this policy of consolidation, the old province of Gwynedd plays the part of a centralising force.[1] In contemporary documents, its last prince, Llewelyn ap Gruffudd, both styles himself,[2] and is being styled by others,[3] as the Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon (*princeps Walliæ et dominus Snaudoniæ*).

Bearing the general title of "Prince of Wales", only members of the House of Gwynedd have a plausible claim to be the representatives of the Cymric sovereignty of the thirteenth century. As compared with that of the seventh century it was narrow and confined, but notice, and herein lies the chief distinction, it was national rather than local, it resembled the sovereignty of a Welsh State rather than that of a Cymric tribe.[4]

The sovereignty of Llewelyn ap Gruffudd was more feudal than tribal. But we cannot regard him as the *dominus* of the whole Principality—he was lord only of

[1] See *Brut y Tywysogion* (Rolls Series), s.a. 1118, 1164; and *Annales Cambriæ*, s.a. 1165, 1240, and 1282.

[2] *Ancient Correspondence* (P.R.O.), vol. xix, no. 22. Letter from Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, lord of Snowdonia, to Edward I, touching the latter's refusal to allow the erection of a castle and market near Abermule (co. Montgomery).

[3] Was Llewelyn ab Iorwerth the first Welsh prince to be termed "princeps Walliæ et dominus Snaudoniæ"? He is frequently so called in the Patent Rolls of Hen. III (see *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, *s.v.* Llewelyn). Llewelyn ap Gruffudd is so addressed in several of the *Royal and other Hist. Letters* (Rolls Series, ed. Shirley), vol. ii, pp. 156, 218, 232-3; on pp. 284-5 appear Letters Patent by Llewelyn himself.

[4] *The Story of Wales*, p. 148. "The new unity" [of Wales in the time of Llewelyn the Great] "was not a racial one, neither was it based on common language, it was simply territorial." For what is suggested to have been an earlier stage in the passage from a tribal chieftaincy to a territorial sovereignty, cf. *The Welsh People*, p. 147.

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Snowdonia—to the rest of the Principality he was a sort of an overlord, enjoying the occasional homage of the South Welsh chieftains. Instances may be found in the fourteenth century records of lands that apparently escheated[1] to Llewelyn ap Gruffudd within the confines of the seigniory of Snowdon, *i.e.*, the district corresponding to the modern counties of Anglesea, Carnarvon and Merioneth. None have been found in the parallel accounts of Cardigan and Carmarthen—counties, by the way, that formed part of his Principality.

Llewelyn thus stood to his subjects in the dual relation of lord, and overlord; and, as "Prince of Wales", held the Principality as a fief of the English Crown. It is in his person that we find one of the unities of Welsh economic history. When we look upon Llewelyn as the last representative of Cymric sovereignty, when we consider

[1] In the Sheriff's account printed in Appendix I below, it will be found that Llewelyn died seised of many acres of *terra Wallensica*, a term, if we have rightly interpreted below (p. 28), that is applied to *tir gwelyawg*, or the hereditary lands of the old tribesmen. How (for example) came Llewelyn to die seised of "Lecte Eden" and other hereditary lands in the commote of Talybont? In the petition that follows (App. II [1]) we have an interesting instance of a patrimony in the vill of "Llechauc" (in Twrcelyn commote) coming into the hands of Llewelyn, during the minority of an heir, for relief and *gobr* due. Upon the death of Llewelyn *contra pacem*, this patrimony, like other lands of which Llewelyn died seised, came into the hands of the Crown. It was subsequently let at an extended rent, like other escheat lands of the Principality (*Min. Acc.*, 1149, no. 1). On p. 35 below an instance is given of a one-sixth part of a mill taken into the hands of Llewelyn through the death of a tenant without heirs within the fourth degree. Admitting the instances quoted to be escheats, it was asked, we believe, by Mr. Willis-Bund in the discussion that followed the reading of this paper, whether these escheated to Llewelyn as a feudal lord, or as a Welsh prince? They apparently escheated to him as lord of Snowdon, not as prince of Wales. In the latter case we should expect to find instances of such escheats in parts of the Principality other than the seigniory of Snowdon.

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the feudal character of this sovereignty, and the fact that Llewelyn, in his letter to Edward I, addresses himself as *suus devotus vassallus*,[1] we discern the more readily how his subsequent indevotion paved the way for the preamble to the Rhuddlan ordinance and the annexation of the Principality of Wales to the English Crown.

The fall of Llewelyn marks the close of tribal politics; the extinction of the old royal line made way for the incoming of a new *régime*. The decay of tribalism in the Principality before 1282 was directed by Welsh politics under the influence of English politics from without. After 1282 it is directed by English politics from within.

It would be interesting to know how far the internal or economic features of North Welsh tribalism were influenced by the centralising policy of the House of Gwynedd up to 1282. Moreover, the scope of this paper (and to a large extent the scanty material available for this purpose) necessarily confines our consideration of this to a few points.

Two features in the fourteenth century economy of North Wales that are apparently due in some part to the growing ascendancy of the House of Gwynedd are (1) the prevalence of a money economy, and (2) the existence of the commote as an unit (*inter alia*) of fiscal administration.

The commote, according to the simple version of the old Welsh Codes, is of political origin.[2] It is a feature of

[1] *Ancient Correspondence* (P.R.O.), vol. xix, no. 25. Letter from "suus devotus vasallus L. princeps Walliæ dominus Snaudoniæ" (*temp.* 7 Ed. I) to Edw. I, complaining of an attack made by the men of Geneurglyn upon him and his hunting retinue from Meirion whilst pursuing a stag beyond the banks of the Dovey.

[2] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, vol. i, p. 89 (Record Commission). See *The Welsh People*, pp. 129-132, for some useful remarks on the origin of the commote.

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the methods rather than of the structure of tribalism; it agrees more with the physical divisions of the country than with the ramified structure of the tribe, and often represents the locality above or below the shelf of a hill, or the district on this, or on that side of a river or wood. Where the commote includes districts that are not geographically connected, the explanation is usually a political one.[1]

One of the earliest functions of the commote was to facilitate the collection of food-rents and the provision of entertainment for the local chieftain, while on progress through his *gwlad* or district. With the consolidation of such local districts into the hands of one representative prince (as in the case of Gwynedd), this function, we may reasonably assume, became more and more fiscal in character. The commote, from being an unit of administration for the satisfaction of local needs, gradually becomes an organ of a wider, or semi-national, finance.

This change had taken place in the North Welsh commotes before the fall of Llewelyn in 1282. We have a few external proofs of this, apart from the supplementary

[1] *E.g.* (1) The inclusion of Penmaen and Llysvaen in the commote of Creuddyn, co. Carnarvon, during the fourteenth and later centuries. These formed part of the Principality lands, and in the time of Llewelyn were held by Grono ap Heilyn (*Peckham's Registers*, Rolls Series, vol. ii, p. 449). Grono was apparently deprived of his rights by Robert de Crevequer, who, according to the evidence of an inquisition taken at his death (I.P.M., 10 Ed. II, No. 21), received a grant thereof, 7 Ed. I. William de Monte Acuto was in possession of these vills in 1332 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1330-1334), pp. 253, 357), and in 1353 (*Rec. of Carn.*, p. 90). Before 1374, the vills were in the hands of the Black Prince (*Misc. Rolls* (*Chancery*) Bundle 17, No. 22), and from this point forward appear in the ordinary account of the commote of Creuddyn. (2) The estrangement of the lands between the Dovey and the Dulas from the commote of Estimanner took place at the close of the twelfth century. (*Augmentation Office, Misc. Book*, No. 166 f. xi*a*.)

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evidence of the late thirteenth century extents. The simple fact of Llewelyn ap Gruffudd taking upon himself the responsibility of paying large sums of money by way of fine,[1] or indemnity,[2] is not devoid of significance. It gives an outward clue to the inner fact of the commutation (into money equivalents) of dues previously rendered in kind.

As may be inferred from the extents and accounts of the early fourteenth century, the commutation[3] of the old food-rents, excepting the case of a few bondmen, was already well advanced. This, with greater reservations, is true of other subsidiary customs. Excepting those customs that must have assumed a fictional character upon the disappearance of the Welsh prince, and consequently commuted into money payments, the late thirteenth century extents may well represent the state of things in the time of Llewelyn ap Gruffudd, and less adequately, perhaps, in the time of his grandfather, Llewelyn ap Iorwerth. There can be little doubt but that the increasing power, and the changed requirements of the Gwyneddian princes, gave an additional incentive to such commutation as arose from silent and economic forces before 1282.

So much then for the influence of tribal policy, up to the date of its extinction, upon the methods of tribalism. The change in the character of Cymric sovereignty was attended by a change in the administration of tribal economy. These changes were in large part due to the centralising policy of the House of Gwynedd.

We have now to deal with the new centralising agents that were brought to play upon the seigniory of Snowdon after the extinction of the House of Gwynedd.

One of these new elements was the shire system. The

[1] *Fœdera*, vol. i, p. i, p. 457.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 474.
[3] *Tribal System in Wales*, p. 9.

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old seigniory of Snowdon was divided into the three counties of Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Anglesea, each being under the control of a sheriff. The functions of the shire were both judicial and fiscal, and the location of a Chancery and an Exchequer at Carnarvon, gave to the old seigniory of Snowdon the unity that was before centred in its prince.

By such a machinery, Edward I provided for his right enjoyment of those *regalia* exercised by Llewelyn ap Gruffudd. Edward's relation to Llewelyn, and Llewelyn's relation to the land, removed all theoretical embarrassments to its successful operation.

Moreover, when Edward I came to consider his relation to Llewelyn's subjects he was face to face with a very practical difficulty.

If Edward I and Llewelyn were feudal personages from the point of view of their relation as "sovereigns to their subjects", the identity disappears when we look from the point of view of the Welsh. Whether they saw or did not see a feudal personage in Llewelyn, they saw in him a prince of the line of Rhodri, and whether they saw or did not see a feudal personage in Edward I, they saw in him a successor to the Saxon, the torment of their ancestors. Edward I's succession was one of law not of race.

To cope with this racial difficulty, Edward had to introduce elements that would assure the working of his shire system. This accounts for the castle and the borough,[1] the strongholds of Englishry in North Wales during the fourteenth century. The difficulty provided for, Edward I was in a position to expect the successful working of his shire system.

He had next, for the information of his officials, to

[1] See below, p. 39.

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ascertain the amount and nature of his *regalia*, *i.e.*, of his rights, dues and customs. This was accomplished by the compilation of royal extents, *i.e.*, extents or surveys taking cognizance of all lands, rents, customs, etc., that were calculated to bring in money to the local exchequer at Carnarvon.

These extents are of the first importance to the student of tribalism. In them we get a picture, as it were, of the existing economic conditions of North Wales at a given date. By comparing the extents of the close of the thirteenth century with those compiled during the latter half of the fourteenth century it will be seen that several changes have taken place.

The extent thus serves as a landmark in the change. It, however, reveals little of the causes that occasioned the new conditions. In this lies the importance of the *Ministers' Accounts*, a class of documents (when complete) that covers the period intervening the respective extents. The value of the account will be more evident if we consider its close relation to the extent.

The extent[1] formed a kind of precedent to the royal officials in drawing up their yearly or half-yearly accounts. In some cases the Sheriff's annual roll is no other than the bald narration of the total value of a county as specified in the extent, together with the notification of such changes as periodically occurred.[2]

In the extant Sheriff Rolls of the counties of Anglesea, Carnarvon, and Merioneth during the fourteenth century, four significant terms present themselves in this connection, namely, "*extra extentam*", "*ultra extentam*", "*anti-*

[1] For the nature and scope of the typical manorial extent, see the *Radcliffe College Monographs*, No. 6 (by Miss F. G. Davenport), Introdn., pp. xi-xii.

[2] See App. I.

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quus decasus", and "*novus decasus.*" Each of these terms has a significance of its own, but all agree in being the expressions of a fiscal change from the state of things presented in the extents of the fourteenth century, in the old extents *(veteres extentæ)* made subsequent to the conquest of Edward I, and in the new extents (*novæ extentæ*) made subsequent to the ravages of the Black Death.[1]

These terms also appear in the accounts rendered by the bailiffs of the several commotes. The sheriff generally incorporated the bailiff accounts of his county in his annual roll, but in an abstracted form. The Sheriff's Roll yields but a general view of the commote, the original bailiff's account gives a detailed view showing the number and nature of its vills, and their often composite character. Moreover, the bailiff's account has especial claims upon the student of tribalism in general, *i.e.*, in so far as the causes of the decay are concerned. In this respect it often excels that of the sheriff. Auditors of accounts, like Judges of evidence, wanted to know. To this official inquisitiveness the fourteenth century accounts[2] owe much of that intrinsic value which they possess for the student of Welsh economic history.

Our object in the remaining portion of this paper will be to examine the significance of the four terms mentioned above. This will, at any rate, reveal a few features in the decay of North Welsh tribalism. The distinguishing feature of this decay, as represented in the accounts of the fourteenth century, is the slow disintegration of the wele.

[1] See App. IV for a list of the more important extents.

[2] *Ib.* for a list of these accounts.

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I.—"Extra Extentam."

In order to appreciate the right significance of this term, it is necessary that we should recall to memory some of those difficulties that Norman lawyers must have encountered in the compilation of an extent in North Wales.

Already too conscious of the enormous outlay hitherto expended upon the conquest of Wales, they were no doubt anxious that their extent should have its highest fiscal result. Money was still required to consolidate what had been won. It was thus important that every old custom that had a fiscal significance should be retained in theory, if abandoned in practice.

To this, in great part, we owe much of that conservatism that characterises Edward's policy towards Wales, it was neither natural nor expedient to sweep away the old. The old *cylchau* or progresses, such as *Kylgh Stalon*, *Kylgh hebbothogion*,[1] previously associated with the Welsh prince, appear in commuted amounts, and thus helped to swell the annual revenue. The process of commutation explains the decay of many tribal customs in practice. Several instances of old Welsh customs rendered in money form appear in the North Wales accounts up to the time of Henry VII, when several were finally repealed.

Moreover, there was a possibility of decay in tribal dues

[1] These and other old Welsh "*cylchau*" are accounted for under one of two heads, "*Potura Stalonum*," "*Venatore Fimbrium*." The natural tendency was for the many imposts of the tribal period to lose their individuality, so that each became lost amid other payments in sterling.—*Report of the Welsh Land Commission*, vol. xxxv, 1896, p. 674 (Mr. Edward Owen's evidence). The above are cases in point. The *Potura Stalonum* due from the seigniory of Snowdon was extended at £15 10*s.*, each of the three counties paying £5 3*s.* 4*d.*; the *Venatore Fimbrium* at 26*s.* 8*d.*, each county rendering 8*s.* 10¾*d.*

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and customs in the very compilation of the extent itself. As a counterpart to the conservative bent of English officials, we perceive an equally cautious conservatism on the side of the Welsh. The conservatism of the English official often led to extortion, and that of the Welshman to concealment.

For a Welshman's opinion of the extents drawn up by English lawyers, we have but to refer to some of the petitions preserved in the well-known *Record of Carnarvon*. Here words like *injusta*, *falsa*, *injuriosa*, *tortuosa*, frequently describe the extent.[1] The poor villains of Penros had just cause of complaint, for they had been the victims of English extortion to the extent of nearly £23.[2]

Examples of concealment on the part of Welshmen are to be found in the Sheriff's Roll, usually under the marginal heading of *extra extentam*. Giles de Bello Campo, the sheriff of Carnarvon in 1323, accounts for 18*d*. received from the villain tenants of the commote of Dinlleyn "for the carriage of the prince's food over the mountains". This service was generally known as *Teythymynyth*, and, according to the Sheriff, was "handed down to oblivion" at the time of making the extent, until it was afterwards found to have been concealed.[3] Similarly nine villain tenants of the commote of Talybont, co. Merioneth, concealed a parcel of their lands, and upon their recovery, they paid a rent that was termed *punt keulo* (the concealed pound).[4]

Many examples of this "handing down to oblivion" occur. The point to be noticed is this, that probably all such "oblivions" were not recovered. The policy may account for the disappearance of some details of tribal

[1] *Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 214, 216-17.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 217.
[3] *Min. Acc.*, Bundle 1230, no. 4.
[4] *Min. Acc.*, 1231, no. 11.

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custom not included in the extents. It might often be a question of degree. In the accounts *extra extentam* is not only connected with the recovery of lands, etc., that were overlooked or concealed at the time of compiling the extent, but also with the readjustment of rents, customs, etc., that were under-estimated at that time. Under this heading will also be found any new conditions appearing, such as the building of a new mill or weir.[1]

II.—"Ultra Extentam."

Coming to the second phrase, *ultra extentam*, we pass from a change external to the extent to a change within the extent. *Extra extentam* denotes an addition to the body of the extent, *ultra extentam* signifies a change in that body. *Ultra extentam* represents a change in quality rather than quantity. As far as our observation goes, it usually implies something over and above, issuing from lands previously assessed in the extent. It is generally very closely connected with the escheat of lands, and seems, in the majority of cases, to be synonymous with the word *incrementum*, the improved rent derived from escheated lands *(inter alia)*.[2]

The escheat principle plays no small part in the disintegration of the wele. The study of its influence is in many ways instructive, particularly in the incidental light which it throws upon the constitution of the North Welsh weles during the fourteenth century.

The escheats that appear in the extents and the accounts of North Wales at this period usually denote a specific

[1] *Min. Acc.*, 1170, no. 5 (Carnarvon), do. 1227, no. 4 (Anglesea); and App. I below (Merioneth).

[2] See below p. 36, nn. 2-6. *Extra Extentam* is very rarely used in this connection.

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area of land.[1] They are seldom described as fractional parts of a wele, as in the Denbigh extent.[2] This changed method of expressing the fact of an escheat, though not materially affecting its ultimate influence upon the wele,[3] may possibly mark a definite stage in the decay of Welsh tribalism. It reflects upon the character of the wele and the status of its members.

Dr. Seebohm has shown that the responsibility of the escheat in the Denbigh extent was cast upon the wele as a whole.[4] The forfeiting member was in possession, by virtue of his relation to the headman of the wele, of undivided rights in the family lands.[5] In North Wales this responsibility falls upon the individual tribesman, who is apparently regarded as the owner of a fractional share in the landed rights of his family group. In the extent of Denbigh we have the escheat of an undivided right, in the *Record of Carnarvon* the escheat of a divided right. In other words, the relation of the members of the Denbighshire weles to their lord, who enjoyed the right of escheat, is indirect, it is traced through the medium (probably fictional) of the headman of the wele. In the *Record of Carnarvon*, on the other hand, the weles are in

[1] *E.g.*, *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 10, "Et est in prædicto Wele de *Griffri ap Ithon* una bovata terræ escætæ de terra quæ fuit Mad' ap Wyn' ap Cuhelyn."

[2] *E.g.*, *Tribal System in Wales*, App. B.e., p. 77. Wele Moynou. . . . Et tres partes istuis Wele sunt escaeta domini. This description, common in the extent of Denbigh, is rarely found in the *Record of Carnarvon* (*e.g.*, pp. 90-91, Extent of Penmayn and Llysvaen). On p. 1 of the *Rec. of Carn.* we have an escheat expressed as the fractional part of a vill (Penryn). Cf. p. 31 below, n. 2.

[3] In Denbigh the escheat lands were let out at money rents on the English system. (*Tribal System in Wales*, p. 36.) Cf. p. 36 below.

[4] *Tribal System in Wales*, pp. 110-114.

[5] See n. 2 on the next page.

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direct touch with the Crown Prince; we miss the medium found in the extent of Denbigh.

The North Welsh weles have lost this latter aspect of their old patriarchal character, namely, the function of the uchelwr (headman of a wele) as the common chest of the landed rights of the wele. These landed rights, together with the responsibility which their direct enjoyment implied, are embodied in the members of the family group. The wele is no longer a bundle of landed rights centred in the uchelwr, but the territorial equivalent of these rights in the occupation of the family group.[1]

The change was mainly one of theory. The disappearance of the uchelwr (*qua* uchelwr) involved no great practical changes. The uchelwr was deprived of no large estate. The aggregate landed rights that he enjoyed under the old tribal system were always at the call of his lawful descendants within the fourth degree, who claimed their rights of maintenance.[2] Theoretically, he was a big landlord, enjoying all the *rights to his family lands*, but the practical use of these lands was mostly invested in the subsidiary members of the group. They, among other things, were imprivileged to pasture their cattle, and take part in the common ploughings. The transferal of the *rights to land* to the family group would thus occasion no serious loss to the uchelwr. There seem to be no great

[1] The following proofs may be adduced in support of the territorial character of the wele in the *Record of Carnarvon*:—(1) the frequent occurrence of the phrase Wele de wele ——, *e.g.*, *Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 17, 18, 57), cf. Dr. Seebohm's *English Village Community*, p. 195, n. 1; (2) the grant of a wele to a free borough (p. 43 below); (3) tenants hold a wele (illud) at will (*Rec. of Carn.*, p. 81), cf. *ib.*, p. 83.; (4) the evidence of the escheat lands (pp. 27, 30 below); (5) Lands are sometimes described as the part of a wele (p. 30 below). The same remarks apply to the gavell.

[2] *Tribal System in Wales*, p. 92.

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difficulties in the way of regarding his disappearance in North Wales as the inevitable result of the application of a territorial or feudal theory to the facts of tribal practice.

This would give the North Welsh tribesman *rights to land* where before he held *rights of maintenance, i.e.,* he would hold a fractional share in the landed rights of his family group. In case of an escheat, it would be one of territorial (divided) right not of patriarchal (undivided) right. This gradual supremacy of the territorial over the family idea illustrates itself in many other phases of Cymric economy during the fourteenth century.

On all sides we have evidence of family notions losing, or having lost, their grip upon Welsh society. Once the patriarchal character of landownership disappeared, family instincts lost their hold upon the wider aspects of tribal unity. The foundations of a new unity were laid. The unity of the wele (family group) is no longer that of the uchelwr (headman of the wele), but that of the family lands. The weles (family groups) of the kindred very slowly give way to the tenants of the vill, as does the wider community of the kindred to the narrower community of the vill.[1] Patriarchal notions are more and more confined to the feudal shell. Family ties are no longer surrounded by the halo of a patriarchal shell, they are often sacrificed to the naive demands of a feudal theory.[2] The wele becomes more susceptible to the influence of the lord or Crown Prince, and more subject to the caprice of its individual members. Individuals come

[1] The term "vill" in the *Record of Carnarvon* generally represents a district including one or more hamlets.

[2] See *Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 20-21, for instances of tenants of family lands situated in different commotes owing suit and service to the respective courts.

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to regard their status more like unto that of a tenant day by day, and often scruple not to sell,[1] or even spontaneously give their family lands away.[2]

But though deprived of its old environment, the inner arrangement of the wele during the fourteenth century is pre-eminently tribal. The lands are "hereditary lands" *(terræ Wallensicæ)*, subject, on the one hand, to frequent sub-divisions by the custom of gavelkind, and open, on the other hand, to occasional accumulation by the decease of coheirs, purchase of lands, etc. This gradual doing and undoing—the natural result of forces inherent in the tribal system itself—forms a permanent feature in the disintegration of the wele.

Two interesting documents, throwing incidental light upon this two-fold process of change, are preserved in the *Record of Carnarvon*. On page 214 appears an answer[3] to a petition (now apparently lost) from the commonalty of North Wales, touching the rendering of suit and service at the County and Hundred Courts. This duty, often burdensome[4] to tenants holding lands subject to the rules

[1] *E.g.*, Eignon ap Grono, a free tenant, sold 2½ bovates of land in the vill of Trefcastell to one Madoc Wynne, a bondman. The latter paid an increment of 12*d.* yearly to the Crown, so that he may hold the lands *sine impedimento* (*Min. Acc.*, 1170, no. 6). One Ithell Moyll continues to pay it in 1353 (*Rec. of Carn.*, p. 5).

[2] Kedyvor ap Eynon, of the vill of Lanvawr (co. Penllyn), granted his five acres of "Welsh land" to King Edward II (*Min. Acc.*, 1231, no. 5), and Iowerth ap Llewelyn, a free tenant of "Ringdoynor Adoyneth" (co. Eivionydd), spontaneously gave the same amount to Edward [III]. (*Min. Acc.*, 1171, no. 7.)

[3] See App. II, A. 1.

[4] By the Statute of Merton, 20 H. III, c. x, every one who held lands by suit service was empowered, in lieu of personal appearance, to make a letter of attorney. A North Welsh tenant, Tudor ap Grono, on the plea of old age, asks for the privilege of attorney for the common suits due for lands held by him in South and West Wales. (*Rec. of Carn.*, p. 215.)

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of primogeniture, was doubly so to tenants in gavelkind. It was a matter of inconvenience and expense, and would, no doubt, if rigidly enforced, materially affect their agricultural and domestic pursuits. The purport of the reply seems to be the alleviation of some such grievances as these. All tenants holding four bovates and above were to make suit at the County and Hundred Courts, those holding less than four bovates, at the Hundred Court only. In case of the sub-division of an heredity by the custom of gavelkind, the suit could be performed by one of the coheirs, who, in case of default, though holding himself only a proportional share, was liable to be amerced for the whole tenement, the rest of the co-sharers to pay him their respective amounts.[1] Or, as an alternative, the co-sharers were to be severally responsible for their own portions, and in case of default amerced accordingly.

It was thus possible for an "heredity" before owing "one suit" to become divided up into "several heredities" owing "diverse suits". Each of the co-sharers had a territorial responsibility, and on this score became the possible head of a stock to the fourth degree, claiming a

[1] This was the acknowledged custom in Kent. (*Consuetudines Kanciæ*, Charles Sandys, 1851, p. 7.) Welsh and Kentish gavelkind have their distinctive features. By the Welsh custom of partition (1) bastards inherited equally with legitimate sons, a rule that was abolished by the Statute of Wales, 12 Ed. I*; (2) daughters never inherited; (3) women were not entitled to dower. The above-mentioned statute ordained that daughters, in default of male issue, could inherit, and also empowered women to have dower. The Kentish custom of "*the fader to the boughe and the son to the plogh*" did not extend to Wales, where the attainder of the ancestor was a bar to the heir claiming the gavelkind lands. In Kent, the committal of a felony, etc., incurred the forfeiture of the tenant's goods only. (*Robinson on Gavelkind*, 5th edition (Elton and Mackay, 1897), pp. 26-27.)

* Bastards were enabled to hold hereditary lands by King's licence, upon the payment of an increment. (*Min. Acc.*, 1230, no. 4, *s.n.* Caffiogion.)

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share in the privileges which this territorial responsibility implied. In this connection we may note another effect of the loss of the old patriarchal notion of the wele, *viz.*, that the territorialising of the undivided rights of a family group implied a division of that group, in the sense that rights to particular lands were specialized to the descendants of a particular landed tribesman.[1] What he received as son, he might leave as father, grandfather, or even great grandfather to his lineal descendants. In default of issue, members of the collateral line, if within the fourth degree of kinship, entered into his lands.[2] Failing this, the lands escheated to the Crown.

In their second petition the North Welsh tenants ask that one appearance at the County and Hundred Courts should suffice, when diverse lands owing diverse suits came hereditarily into the hands of one tenant. This was readily allowed, upon conditions similar to the above, namely that the amercement, in case of default (as was generally the case), should be proportionate to the quantity of the lands.[3] These amercements we meet in the Court Rolls[4] as the "fines for non-suit".

These petitions make it fairly clear that the responsibility of rendering suit and service at the County and Hundred Courts was a divided one, and (apart from other

[1] Cf. p. 32 below. Another factor in the gradual dissolution of the family group must have been the distinctive privileges held by some of its members, *e.g.*, *Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 11 (*s.n.* Wedir, where some tenants are exempted from paying relief and *gobr*); 19 (Wele Gron' ap Me'dith pay no rent, being enfranchised by Llewelyn ap Iorwerth); 67 (some individuals in Bodaon pay no *Kilgh*). The privileges and services of the mill also vary considerably in different vills.

[2] An entire wele or gavell occasionally comes into the hands of a sole heir (*Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 1, 13, 29, 34, 40, 44, 45, 61, 62, 79); sometimes half a wele or gavell (*Ib.*, pp. 3, 11).

[3] See App. II, A. II.

[4] See App. IV.

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supplementary evidence) that the service was a territorial one. This divided responsibility therefore implied divided rights to land, as may be further inferred from the fact of the escheat of lands arising from the unauthorised withdrawal of suit and service from the customary courts.[1]

The petitions also illustrate the way in which a money economy facilitated the adjustment and re-adjustment of the responsibility of rendering suit and service—one of the continual problems that attended the natural breaking up of the wele. The lawful transferal of rights, and the customary sub-divisions of lands, did not produce changes in the character of the tenure, or in the amount of rents.[2] This was more particularly the work of the escheat principle, the second factor that contributed to the disappearance of the wele.

The immediate effect of an escheat was that rights or lands previously held by a member of the family group, or better, by a tenant of family lands, became vested in the Crown. The lands ceased to be known as *terræ Wallensicæ*,[3] and are thenceforwards termed *terræ escaetæ So-and-so*[4] (name of the forfeiting tenant).

The area of escheated lands, of course, varied considerably. The Crown usually realised its profit by sub-letting

[1] See below, p. 37, n. 1.

[2] The natural process of decay yields few external symptoms of change, in strange contrast to the second process, by escheats.

[3] The term *terra Wallensica* is applied to all lands held by hereditary right, including thus all lands held by the free tenants, and by bondmen inhabiting vills *de natura de Treweloge*. No instance has been found of the term referring to bond lands *de natura de Trefgevery*. *Terra Wallensica* is thus apparently equivalent to the old Welsh *tirgwelyawc*. It is sometimes stated that two acres of "Welsh land" make a bovate (*e.g.*, *Min. Acc.*, 1149, no. 1, *s.n.* Mathavernycha). The bovate, however, is subject to local variations.

[4] *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 3, *et passim*. See App. I and III (II).

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the same at an increased or improved rent. Early in the fourteenth century (1303), in reply to a petition to the Prince of Wales touching the holding of escheated lands, the North Welsh tenants were assured that such lands should not be held *in defenso* (*i.e.*, that they should not be enclosed), or in any way separated than was customary in the time of the former tenants. The lands were still to be held openly and not otherwise (*aperte et non aliter*).[1]

The point of the tenants' request, and the importance of the Prince's concession, are more apparent when we remember that the escheat lands referred to in the documents of the North Welsh Principality, during the fourteenth century, are mostly arable lands.[2] The bovate is the common unit of designation. Common rights of pasture, wood, and other appurtenances are sometimes appended under the general terms *cum aysiamentis* or *pertinentiis*.[3] Evidently, the enclosure of these lands would have interfered with their communal system of husbandry, the common ploughings, etc.

Is this admission on the part of the North Welsh tenants that their lands were liable to enclosure in case of escheat or impotence *a posteriori* proof that the individual tenant or tribesman was in the possession of a divided territorial right? This would not necessarily involve any

[1] App. II, B. II.

[2] They are occasionally expressly described as such (*Min. Acc.*, 1170, no. 5, *s.n.* Ughaph; *Ib.*, 1179, no. 6, *s.n.* Issaph). The "improved rent" extended to the easements as well. Take a case in the vill of Penlassok, a bond vill *de natura de Treweloge* (*Rec. of Carn.*, p. 2). The lands of Wenthlian filia Heylyn escheated, because the said Wenthlian, a leper (*leprosa*), left no heirs within the fourth degree. The three bovates were let to Blethin ap Grono and other villain tenants of the vill at an annual increment of 6*d.*, accounted for thus:—Et de vj*d.*, de iij bovatis terræ cum aisamentis pasturæ (*Min. Acc.*, 1170, no. 5).

[3] *E.g.*, *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 59; *Min. Acc.*, 1149, no. 1, etc., cf. App. I.

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hard and fast divisions of the actual lands, which, as the petition supplies, were held "openly", and that, probably, for the purposes of communal husbandry. The petition, however, suggests some sort of a separation (*vel separari aliter*), etc. What this separation implied is another thing. It may refer to the individual responsibility of rendering suit and service at the County and Hundred Courts, or to the payment of a definite quota of quit rent from each holding. Or again, to the messuages held in severalty by the individual tenants, and possibly to the virtual plots of arable land that were appurtenant thereto. Be this as it may, the fact remains that the escheated lands are described as so many bovates, virgates, or acres formerly belonging (*quæ fuit* or *fuerunt*)[1] to the forfeiting member, and, moreover, the exact quota of quit rent (if any)[2] due from the holding among the old rents of assise of the wele or vill is known.[3]

The individual tenants (or co-sharers of the family lands) were virtually the possessors of some lands that they could severally call their own, the extent of which in the case of forfeiture could be approximately estimated.[4]

[1] *E.g.*, *Min. Acc.*, 1230, no. 4, *s.n.* Leghan (Issaph commote); *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 16.

[2] There were, of course, no quit rents due in the case of lands held *de sanctuario*, or otherwise exempted from the payment of ordinary rents, *e.g.*, *Min. Acc.*, 1170, no. 5, "Et de xij*d.*, de dimidia acra terræ Wallensicæ in eadem villa [Eglwysael] quæ fuit Eynon ap Gruff quæ est escheata domini Regis defuncti per mortem ipsius Eynon contra pacem dicti domini Regis in guerra Madoci ap Leuelyn sic posita ad firmam extra extentam hoc anno quæ non oneratur de redditu per extentam quia tenetur de sanctuario." The vill of Eglwysael was held *de Sancto Cadewaladre Rege*. (See *Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 46-7.) Cf. *Ib.*, p. 38, for a parallel instance.

[3] *Rec. of Carn.*, *passim*, *e.g.*, p. 1, where the lands of Kendal Map Cothly Heilyn were assessed at 6*d.* in the old rents of assise of the wele. See p. 35 below.

[4] See *Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 16, 17, 23, 44, 45 (*per estimacionem*).

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That these lands were geographically located is to some extent borne out by the fact that they could be enclosed, and this will perhaps also explain the permanence of the escheat nomenclature.[1] This gives a decided territorial character to the wele, which it apparently admits. In the *Record of Carnarvon* we sometimes find escheats expressed as a certain number of bovates, and estimated to be such and such a fraction of a wele (? family lands).[2] In the extent of Denbigh we find escheats expressed as the fraction of a wele (rights) and estimated to be a number of acres. The escheats of the *Record of Carnarvon* represent the portions of a divided wele and are consequently severally described. Escheats in the extent of Denbigh appear in one lump sum, being the territorial equivalent of a sum of undivided rights of the wele, admitting of no specific nomenclature.

This policy of not enclosing the escheat lands leads to some difficulties at a later date.[3] During the fourteenth century the Crown enjoys its escheat profits by disposing of the lands at "improved" rents.

The family group (wele) sometimes take on the escheated lands of their old members,[4] as do the wider community of the vill;[5] and near relatives of the forfeiting tenants, wishing to preserve their old patrimonies intact, often undertake to pay an extended rent.[6] Enterprising indi-

[1] See p. 33, below, n. 3.

[2] *Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 81, 82, *s.n.* Porthamal.

[3] Chiefly as to their extent, *e.g.*, *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 7, where the extent of the escheat lands of one Ken' ap Carwet is not known. From *Min. Acc.* 1771, no. 7, it appears that they consisted of ¾ of a bovate with appurtenances in Lambader Kevyn. Escheat lands prove a sore trouble to the Elizabethan surveyors (*Land Revenue*, P.R.O., Misc. Bk., no. 236, fo. 3b).

[4] *Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 2, 10.

[5] *Ib.*, pp. 16, 46, 47.

[6] See App. I.

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viduals, frequently entire strangers in blood, add to their responsibility by arrenting escheat lands,[1] and bondmen, before the ravages of the Black Death, show an inclination to farm any vacant portions that chanced to be within easy approach.[2]

It was of little consequence to the Crown who held the escheated lands, so long as the "improved" rents were paid, in addition to the old rents of assise. The improved rents were generally payable at Easter and Michaelmas,[3] and were subject to gradual increase. It was thus that the sum total of the rents of a wele varied.[4]

As compared with the free tenants of the wele who paid their usual quit rents for their hereditary lands (*terra Wallensica*), those holding escheated lands were tenants at will of the Crown.[5] Descendants farming the patrimonies of their disinherited ancestors, soon realised that the payment of an improved rent made their position less free than that of their neighbours in the wele. They often objected to the payment of the increased rent, and sought to regain the former prestige for their old patrimony. Sons could not very well understand why they should pay an "extended rent" in addition to the old "annual rent" paid by their ancestors. The case of Gruffudd ap Peredur, a member of *Wele Wyryon Lli' ap Tud'*, in the commote of Talybont, is an instance in point. His father, Peredur ap Llewelyn, died *contra pacem* in the

[1] *Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 6, 11, 18, 45, 46, 70.

[2] *Ib.*, pp. 18, 52, 60.

[3] The ordinary rents were payable at the following terms: (1) Feast of All Saints (Nov. 1), (2) Purification of Holy Mary (Feb. 2), (3) Feast of the Apostles Philip and James (May 1), (4) St. Peter ad Vincula (Aug. 1), *Min. Acc.*, 1171, no. 7.

[4] *Tribal System in Wales*, p. 10; *Ancient Tenures in the Marches of N. Wales*, p. 35.

[5] *Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 66, 81, and p. 36 below, no. 4.

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war of Madoc ap Llewelyn, leaving a patrimony of sixteen acres, which was farmed at an extended rent of 6*s.* 8*d.* by his son Gruffudd, who, upon his own admission, was a boy of tender years at that time. At a later date Gruffudd endeavoured to improve his position, by claiming the general amnesty offered by Edward I to the heirs of ancestors that were slain in the war of Llewelyn ap Gruffudd.[1] The attempt was, albeit, in vain. His daughter (*sic*) and granddaughters, five in number, who shared the patrimony in the time of Henry V still pay the extended[2] rent.[3] The same patrimony was farmed of the Crown in the time of Elizabeth by one John Owen, armiger.[4] Another example of this kind, expressing the surprise of Adam ap David, a free tenant of the vill of Kilan, at the payment of an extended rent will be found in the Appendix.[5] The circumstances of escheat thus affected the rent and tenure of the escheated holding and coloured its subsequent history.

The process of escheat was not peculiar to the fourteenth century, but the effect was always much the

[1] *Ancient Petitions* (P.R.O.), no. 2405 (see App. II, B. III).

[2] Escheat lands are commonly called "extent lands" in Merionethshire. In the vernacular they are usually termed "*Tir Stent*", sometimes "*Kay Sceat*", (cf. *Ancient Tenures in the Marches of N. Wales*, p. 69). In the Welsh survey of Twrcelyn, taken early in the seventeenth century, several of the lands escheating in the fourteenth century appear as *Tir Stent So-and-So*, mentioning the name of the person from whom it then escheated, *e.g.*, under *Guely Dolphyn ap Kawed* . . . appears *Tir Stent Grono Goch yn Llysdylas* (*Rentals and Surveys*, portf. 21-31, m. 8b.). Grono Gogh, a felon, was outlawed in 1337, his patrimony of six acres escheating to the Crown (*Min. Acc.*, 1149, no. 1). Cf. *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 66. A knowledge of the causes of the fourteenth century escheats is thus essential to the right understanding of later evidence relating to the history of the landed interest in N. Wales.

[3] *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 271.

[4] *Land Revenue*, Misc. Bk., no. 236, fo. 42.

[5] *Ancient Petitions* (P.R.O.), no. 5271. See App. II, B. III.

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same, namely, the growth of royal or seigneurial power at the expense of the landed members of the family group. It imposed new conditions of tenure. It also offered opportunity to enterprising individuals to increase their holdings. This was the artificial counterpart of that natural process by which the rights and lands of a family group devolved into the hands of a sole heir.

In this loophole of escheatry we may perceive a glimpse of the wider changes that were taking place in the economy of North Wales. In the gradual dissociation of the family group, brought about in many instances by the circumstance of escheat, lies the origin of the modern family; in the gradual accumulation of diverse lands must likewise be found the medieval genesis of the modern farm or estate; and in the further allotment of escheat lands during the lord's pleasure we note the transition from a tribal to a feudal tenure, from the holding of lands by old hereditary rights, to the farming of lands for a number of years. Escheats affected the structure as well as the methods of tribalism. Consanguinity, the basis of old tribal economy, gave way to territorialism, the basis of feudal society. Progress henceforth depended more on geography than genealogy, on relations to lands rather than on connections with families. Rights to land became a matter of English rather than of Welsh law.

There is a sense, however, in which the escheats of the fourteenth century have a story of their own; that is, when we consider their causes rather than their effects.

In the eye of the Law an escheat signifies, "any lands or other profits that casually fall to a lord within his manor by way of forfeiture or by death of his tenant leaving no heirs general or special."[1]

[1] Cowell's *Law Dictionary*, *s.v.*, Escheat.

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As an example of an escheat arising from the failure of heirs, we may take the following instructive instance. In the vill of "Trefdresdisteyn" we find that a sixth part of a mill called "Gwynne" came into the hands of Prince Llewelyn through the death of one Iorwerth ap Ririd ap Elider, leaving *no heirs within the fourth degree.*[1]

The accounts present innumerable examples of escheats by way of forfeiture. These incidentally afford curious sidelights of the domestic and civil dissensions of the North Welsh Principality during the Middle Ages. To take a few instances: Llewelyn ap Meredith lost his 30 acres of "Welsh land" in the vill of Llanvugail for the murder of one David Voel.[2] Ieuan Cutta, a felon, subsequently killed in the church of "de la Taverne", held 4½ acres called "Tuthinpentragh", situated in the vill of Bodaon.[3] Kendal Vaghan ap Kendal Cochleholyn, had like experience with his solitary acre at Trefwarth.[4] He had slain no one, but had stolen a few cattle that were grazing on a neighbouring hillock, the property, it appears, of a no less distinguished personage than John de Havering, the Justiciar of North Wales.

Another interesting class of escheats are the *contra pacem*, or political, escheats. These reveal some of the economic influences of the political revolts of the late thirteenth and following centuries.

Several Welsh freeholders lost their lands in the last fight for independence under Llewelyn ap Gruffudd. A notable instance occurs in the case of Ken' ap Teg, the holder of considerable freehold lands (60 acres) in the

[1] *Min. Acc.*, 1149, no. 1. Cf. *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 46.
[2] *Min. Acc.*, 1170, no. 5. Cf. *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 58.
[3] *Min. Acc.*, 1149, no. 1. Cf. *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 67.
[4] *Min. Acc.*, 1230, no. 4. Cf. *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 2.

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vill of "Goythrum".[1] He was apparently the sole heir of his wele at the time of his death.[2]

The next political rising, in order of importance and date, was the remarkable revolt of Madoc ap Llewelyn in 1294. It is foreign to the purpose of our paper to enquire into the origin and progress of this revolt. The prevalence of *contra pacem* escheats resulting therefrom in the counties of Anglesea,[3] Carnarvon,[4] and Merioneth,[5] suggests that it was a widespread one. The men of Anglesea play a predominant part in this revolt, owing perhaps to the fact that the principal leader hailed from this county. We know that Madoc ap Llewelyn possessed considerable lands in Lledwigan Llan, until he warred against the king.[6]

The burgesses of Carnarvon had their charter burnt, and the burgesses of Conway had their mills destroyed. At Carnarvon, Grono,[7] the chief bailiff of the commote of Twrcelyn, and Trahern ap Blethin,[8] a free tenant of the vill of "Contwrnock", in the neighbouring commote of Talybolion, were the chief parties to the death of Roger

[1] *Min. Acc.*, 1170, no. 6. Similar instances will be found in App. I. The local historian will welcome such notices as these.

[2] *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 79. In later documents Ken' ap Teg' is said to have died seised "in his demesne as of a fee" of the aforesaid lands.

[3] See p. 30 above, n. 2, and nn. 5 and 6 below.

[4] *E.g.*, it will be seen from p. 16 of the *Record of Carnarvon* that the escheat lands of one Bleddin Routh are situated in diverse gavells. This is explained by the fact that Bleddin, in addition to his own hereditary lands, held at will the escheated lands of Iorwerth ap Howel, and Teg' Vaghan, two free tenants, who died *contra pacem* in the war of Madoc (*Min. Acc.*, 1170, nos. 5 and 6, *s.n.*, Ughaph). Dayk Cragh, whose escheated lands appear in the *Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 11-12, also died *contra pacem* in the war of Madoc (*Min. Acc.*, 1170, no. 5).

[5] See App. I below.

[6] *Min. Acc.*, 1150, no. 2.

[7] *Min. Acc.*, 1149, no. 1. Cf. *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 70.

[8] *Min. Acc.*, 1149, no. 1. Cf. *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 59.

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Puleston, the sheriff of their native county. Their lands accordingly escheated *contra pacem.*

With the North Welsh bailiffs, Madoc's revolt often assumes the importance of a landmark. In the vill of Dinlleyn (commote of Uwchgwyrvai) we find three acres of "Welsh land", belonging to one Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, falling into the hands of the Crown *before* the war of Madoc ap Llewelyn, owing to the withdrawal of suit and service from the County and Hundred Courts.[1] It is also noted[2] that several tenants, owing to their distressed condition, left their lands in the commote of Dinllayn *after* the war of Madoc.

It is perhaps unnecessary to emphasise the importance of these incidental references made in the *Ministers' Accounts* to the war of Madoc. They will help to elucidate the story of the revolt itself.

After the revolt of 1294 we have but a few notices of *contra pacem* escheats. William ap David Lloyd, the ringild of Tyndaethwy commote in 1351, accounts for three bovates, the escheated lands of one Ririd ap Iorwerth, a felon, who died *contra pacem regis* in the war of one Owen ap Gruffudd (Oñ ap Gr̃).[3] Who was this Owen?

We have an indirect reference to the escheat lands of Gruffudd Seys in the vills of Trefflowarch and Porthamal, respectively in the commotes of Talybolion and Meney.[4]

[1] *Min. Acc.*, 1230, no. 4. Cf. *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 25.

[2] *Min. Acc.*, 1230, no. 4. Cf. *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 33.

[3] *Min. Acc.*, 1149, no. 1.

[4] *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 133, and *Min. Acc.*, 1150, no. 4. The following items appear in the account of William of Huntington, the escheator:—

(*a*) *s.n.* Talybolion. "Et de vj*s.* viij*d.* de exitibus trium bovatarum terræ et unius bovatæ prati cum pertinentiis in Treflowargh, quæ fuerunt Gruffudd Seys convicti de seducione, remanentium in manu domini ut in præcedenti. Et remanent. Et de iij*s.* iiij*d.* de

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Gruffudd Seys was, of course, the adherent of Owain Lawgoch.[1] In this connection it may be interesting to note that John de Delves received a certain fine from a person (name not given) of the commote of Meney, in the time of Queen Isabella (d. 1358), because he withdrew from the army of the Black Prince in Gascony.[2]

And finally, we have reference to another Anglesea man, David ap Eynion Vaghan, who died *contra pacem* in South Wales, referring presumably to the revolts of Maelgwyn Vychan or Llewelyn Bren.[3]

So much then for the political revolts. One of their economic effects, from the point of view of the decay of tribalism, will be found in the impetus which they gave to the escheat principle, the invariable effect of which was to increase royal power in the wele or vill. Lands became more subject to the will of the Prince. Of the many other factors that contributed to this same result, poverty is not the least.[4] Some tenants sold their lands to the Prince,[5] others gave them up of their own accord,[6] and

exitibus trium bovatarum terræ cum pertinentiis in villa de Daronewy, quæ fuerunt ipsius Gruffudd, remanentium in manu domini causa prædicta. Et remanent."

(*b*) *s.n.* Meney. "Et de exitibus quinque bovatarum terræ cum pertinentiis in villa de Porthamal quæ fuerunt Gruffudd Seys convicti de seducione, remanentium in manu domini ut in compoto præcedenti. Et remanent."

[1] See *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society*, Session 1899-1900, "Owain Lawgoch" (by Messrs. Edward Owen and J. H. Davies), p. 9.

[2] *Min. Acc.*, 1150, no. 1.

[3] *Min. Acc.*, 1150, no. 2.

[4] *E.g.*, App. I and III.

[5] Prince Llewelyn bought three acres of "Welsh land" of Ieuan ap Howel, a freeman of the vill of Trefmadrun (Dinllayn commote), *Min. Acc.*, 1230, no. 4.

[6] See p. 25 above, n. 1.

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others were lax in asserting their claims.[1] These were the silent forces that led to the disintegration of the wele during the fourteenth century.

But besides the disintegrating influences of these internal forces that were continually at work, we find in the *Accounts* the like influences of two other factors that were more explicit in their effect. One monopolised a considerable extent of land during the first half of the fourteenth century, the other swept away a large number of the population during the latter half of the same century. We refer to the phenomena introduced in the Sheriff's Roll under the terms "Old Decay" (*antiquus decasus*), and "New Decay" (*novus decasus*), *i.e.*, the decay due to the Municipal Element and the Great Pestilence respectively.

III.—"Antiquus Decasus."

The term *antiquus decasus* leads us to the consideration of the municipal element in North Wales. This had its direct and indirect effects upon North Welsh tribalism.

In the first place it appropriated an extent of land considerably over 5,000 acres. Nine boroughs, of which Conway, Carnarvon, and Beaumaris were the most important, shared these lands.

They were, for the most part, desmene lands, *i.e.*, lands closely associated with old royal maenors. The town of Conway flourished on the demesne lands formerly granted

[1] *E.g.*, *Min. Acc.*, 1149, no. 1 (*s.n.* Talebolyon). "Item respectuantur eidem ij*s.* vj*d.* de redditu terræ liberæ quam Staket tenuit in Knowkernoker existentis in manu domini quod nulli heredes apponunt clameum iu eadem terram. Et ordinatum est sequi *breve de cessavit* versus heredes," etc. Many other instances of this are given in the *Rec. of Carn.*, *e.g.*, pp. 27, 32, 33.

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by Llewelyn ap Iorwerth to the Cistercian Abbey of Aberconway.[1] The old maenor of Estingwern formed the nucleus of the free borough of Harlech,[2] and the town of Bala was almost entirely built on the demesnes of Penllyn.[3] The boroughs of Nevin and Pwllheli[4] were no other than the old Welsh maenors endowed with the privileges of the *liber burgus*.[5]

Many villein trefs were also appropriated. The borough of Carnarvon incorporated the old villein tref of Llanbeblig (excepting nine bovates) within its liberties.[6] "Bodenvewe", a vill of the most servile of the Welsh tenures (*de natura de Trefgevery*), in the commote of Tyndaethwy, was included in the town lands of Beaumaris,[7] and the villeinage lands of the vill of "Lleghan", near Conway, were farmed by the burgesses of that town.[8]

In the endowment of their royal boroughs in North Wales English sovereigns interfered as little as possible with the private or family lands (*terræ Wallensicæ*). Moreover, this was inevitable in some cases, and was to some extent influenced by the desire (truly municipal) of the

[1] *History, etc., of Aberconway* (Williams, R.), p. 101.

[2] *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd series, vol. xiii, p. 192.

[3] *Min. Acc.*, 1231, no. 5. Nineteen of its fifty-three burgages were situated on freehold lands (*terræ liberorum*), the residue on domain land (*terræ dominica*). In addition to this the burgesses farmed a considerable extent of the demesne lands of the commote (*Min. Acc.*, 1230, no. 1).

[4] For a minute description of the maenors see *Min. Acc.*, 1170, no. 1; cf. *Cal. of Pat. Rolls* (1381-1385), pp. 229, 267.

[5] Newborough and Beaumaris were also chiefly situated on demesne lands. See p. 41.

[6] *Min. Acc.*, 1230, no. 6.

[7] See below, p. 44.

[8] The charter of the Black Prince (dated Carnarvon, 22 March, in the 12th year of his principate) sanctioning the grant of these lands will be found in *Min. Acc.*, 1171, no. 11, 7 (dorse). Cf. *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 98.

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burgesses to have a compact territory.[1] In such cases, a general re-arrangement of lands took place by way of recompense to the disinherited tenants or family groups.

Take the case of Conway, a town endowed with the lands previously held by the Convent of Aberconway. The latter was partly recompensed by its transferal to Maenan, with the result that several holders of *terra Wallensica* there had to give up their lands. Some were removed to the neighbouring commote of Creuddyn,[2] and others over the Menai to the county of Anglesea.[3]

Equally instructive is the case of Beaumaris. The castle and town liberties corresponded roughly to the old vill of Llanvaes, and to a considerable portion of the vill of Cerrigygwyddyl, a vill, by the way, consisting almost entirely of *terra Wallensica*.

In the Anglesea extent of 1294 the vill of Llanvaes is extended at £78 5*s*. 11¾*d*.; in the *Record of Carnarvon*, in 1353, its total value is confined to the farm of its mill, namely, 26*s*. 8*d*. Endorsed on the Anglesea Sheriff Rolls during the latter half of the fourteenth century, an account of this decay is given under the heading *antiquus decasus*. It shows how the lands of Llanvaes were granted to the burgesses of Beaumaris, and how the tenants were removed to the demesne lands of the old royal maenor of Rhosfaire, to found what was appropriately called a New borough.[4]

[1] *Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 218, 222.

[2] Mereducus Cragh and Gurgenneu Bach, in return for 117 *solidatæ* of freehold lands in Maenan, received the bond lands of Glyn and Gronant (*Min. Acc.*, 1170, no. 5). The 4⅔ gavells of *bond* land was thus converted into 1 *free* gavell (*Rec. of Carn.*, p. 9). Cf. *Ib.*, p. 2, *s.n.* Penlassok, for a similar instance.

[3] Griffith ap Yereward, another tenant of Maenan, received a grant (in reversion) of Rossmaur (? Anglesea) in exchange for his 10 *libratæ* of land. *Early Chancery Rolls* (Rot. Wall.), no. 1034 m. 2.

[4] *Min. Acc.*, 1228, no. 10.

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The tenants were mostly recompensed by the removal to Rhosfaire, but a few were drafted to the vill of Dinsylewy in the commote of Tyndaethwy.[1]

The disinherited tenant of Cerrigygwyddyl received lands that were scattered about in diverse districts, as signified in the following table :—

TERRA WALLENSICA IN THE VILL OF CERRIGYGWYDDYL[2] CONCEDED TO THE BURGESSES OF BEAUMARIS.

Am't in Acres.	Possessors.	Where recompensed.		Remarks.
16½	Jock ap Kulhelyn and nine others.		Commote of Tyndaethwy.	
2½	Cad' Grilles	P'chgyr		*Rec. of Carn.*, p. 76. "Wele Map' Cadogyn."
¼	Gron' ap Yago ...	Castallaur		*Ib.*, p. 76. "Wele Grono ap Yago and Lli 'Loyt."
2	Ieuan ap Lewel' Thloyt	Castallaur		
1	Ior' ap Eigno'... ...	Castellour		*Ib.*, p. 76. "Wele Ior' Vaghan and Eign' Mon."
12	Ior' Vaghan	Bodynvyw		*Ib.*, p. 73. "Wele lib' voc' Wele Ior' Vaghan."
5¾	Adaf Gryk and Teg' ap Dd'	Bokdynvyw		*Ib.*, p. 74.
2½	Mad' ap Run	Dynsilewy		
4	Res' ap Ior'	P'chgyr		
1½	Griff. ap Howel and four sons of one Ior'	Lledewyganllys ...	Cantred of Aberffrau.	Cf. *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 44.
1	Dd' ap Wallachmey and his brother ...	Trefgwalghmey, Botmen'eon, Kefuduy		
1¼	M'ed' ap Lewel' ...	Ariannel'		Cf. *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 53.
1½	Mad' ap Eigno' ap Gwyn	Lledewganllis Trefgwallchmey		
8	Eign' ap Lewel' ...	Arianell, Lledewiganlles		
1	Mad' ap Run ...	Lledewyganlles		
	Dav'd ap Teg' (*Rec. of Carn.*, p. 217) ...	Castelthlawr		*Rec. of Carn.*, p. 76. "Wele David ap Teg'."

[1] Eden' ap Madoc, Madoc ap Teg', and Ior' ap Teg and his parceners, in return for 4½ acres of land in Llanvaes, received lands to the value of 9*s.* 6*d.* in Dinsylewy (see ref. 2 following).

[2] Notices of the decay in the extent of this vill appear in most of the sheriff accounts during the fourteenth century. The above

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The above is an unique instance of the confiscation of hereditary lands for the direct endowment of the municipal element. Other towns that came into direct touch with the family lands were Harlech, Bala, and Criccieth. The burgesses of Harlech farmed the "Welsh lands" in the commote of Ardudwy that had fallen into the hands of Llewelyn ap Gruffudd before the Conquest,[1] and the townsmen of Criccieth rented the escheated wele of one Teg ap Roppt in the vill of Strinthlyn.[2]

We have now seen how the municipal element in its origin confined tribalism by appropriating a considerable extent of land, and also undermined it by the consequent rearrangement of lands in other districts.

Another interesting feature of its influence is the way in which it hastened the decay of villeinage in North Wales.

It accomplished this, (1) by appropriating lands that were formerly bond, as in the case of Conway and the vill of Lleghan[3]; (2) by the appropriation of lands that subsequently led to the emancipation of bond lands, as in the case of Conway and the vills of Glyn and Gronant.[4] In the relations of the town of Beaumaris and the vill of Bodenvewe we have evidence of both processes. In the *Record of Carnarvon* (p. 13) we find that the vill of Bodenvewe contained one free wele, namely, Wele Iorwerth Vaghan, which was formerly bond land *de natura de Trefgevery*. At the time of the extent, 1353, the wele was in the occupation of one Eignon ap Madoc ap Iorwerth Vaghan, who paid no rent "because it was conceded to his

analysis was made from the account of Anian ap Ieuan, *temp.* 20-21 Ed. II, *Min. Acc.*, 1228, no. 10, m. 1 (dorse).

[1] *Originalia Roll*, 10 Ed. II, m. 8 (lands of Ior' Moyldonyok, Glasneys, etc. See App. I.

[2] *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 41.

[3] See above, p. 40, nn. 6 and 8.

[4] See above, p. 41, n. 2.

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grandfather by Edward I, in exchange for lands upon which the castle of Beaumaris was built." This is confirmed by the evidence of the Sheriff Roll already quoted,[1] where we find that Iorwerth Vaghan was in this way compensated for 12 acres of his Welsh land lying in the vill of Cerrigygwyddyl. Another tenant, Teg' ap David, was compensated in a similar manner for 5¾ acres. The rest of the vill was granted to the burgesses of Beaumaris by the Black Prince in 1366.[2]

It is clear from this that the municipal element contributed to the decay of villeinage by the emancipation of lands that were formerly bond. This incidentally implied the decay of tribal customs as well. Lands granted to the free boroughs were held by a socage tenure, and were thus exempt from praedial and other services. For example, the villeins of the commote of Issaph usually contributed half-a-sovereign yearly towards the munition of Conway Castle, but after the grant of the bond lands of Lleghan to Conway, they only pay half-a-mark.[3] Adding to this the fact that the charter of the *liber burgus* contained a proviso enabling the emancipation of the villein himself, we realise the importance of the municipal element in the decay of North Welsh tribalism.

IV.—"Novus Decasus."

Passing on to the meaning of our fourth and last term —*novus decasus*, in brief outline let us consider the influence of the Black Death upon the economic conditions of North Wales. As we have already intimated, it primarily affected the population. It swept away an immense number of Welshmen, just as the municipal element absorbed a considerable extent of Welsh land.

[1] See above, p. 42, n. 2.
[2] *Min. Acc.*, 1150, no. 3.
[3] *Min. Acc.*, 1172, no. 6.

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The frequent references to its devastating influences render it tolerably certain that North Wales suffered as severely as other parts of England and Wales.

Among the entries of the various accounts, several instances appear of entire vills,[1] and of diverse lands[2] in the hands of the Crown through want of tenants, as also of dues partly rendered "because the greater part (*maxima pars*) of the tenants died from the pestilence".[3] It came down with a heavy hand upon the bondmen. Only two *advocarii* were spared in the entire commote of Creuddyn.[2] Before the pestilence there were 149 bond tenants in the commote of Nantconway, after the pestilence there were only 47.[4]

The Black Prince, aware of the sore straits into which the calamity had suddenly reduced his north Welsh bondmen, sent a letter under the Privy Seal to John de Delves, then Justiciar of North Wales, and Robert Pollard, the Chamberlain there, to the effect that dues previously rendered by the bond-tenants towards the munition of the North Welsh castles, should be respited until further notice.[5] The letter, dated 20th of July 1353, took effect for the eleven years following,[6] during which period no *staurum principis*[7] (as this particular custom was termed) is paid by the bondmen.

[1] *Min. Acc.*, 1171, no. 7 (Thlediok, co. Dinlleyn; Gannow, co. Creuddyn).

[2] See n. 1, p. 46 below, and App. III.

[3] *Min. Acc.*, 1171, no. 7, co. Dinlleyn, *s.n.* Trefgoith. See nn. 5-7 below.

[4] *Min. Acc.*, 1171, no. 7.

[5] See App. III (1).

[6] *Min. Acc.*, 1173, no. 4.

[7] *Staurum Principis* (Welsh *stôr vawr*), being the old Welsh custom by which the taeogs and aillts of the commote rendered *dawnbwyds* to their native prince, whilst on progress (*cylch*). After the conquest of Wales it continued to be paid in money amounts by the *nativi* and

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After 1364 we note the signs of a gradual recovery, the *staurum principis* is being paid, but in less considerable amounts than before, the significant cause being the poverty and scarcity of tenants. The villein tenants of the commotes of Issaph and Dinlleyn pay 6*s.* 8*d.* each instead of the usual 16*s.* 8*d.*; those of Nantconway and Uwchgwyrfai 14*s.* each, instead of the normal 25*s.* In the county of Carnarvon the commote of Gafflogion apparently suffered the least, the villein-tenants pay 10*s.* as *staurum principis*, only 20*d.* less than the normal amount before the pestilence.[1] Of the Anglesea commotes, Malltraeth and Tyndaethwy were affected most.[2]

The effect of the pestilence was not solely one of depopulation. It also weakened the physical stamina of those that survived. Several tenants were unable to perform their usual services or to continue in their original holdings.

The agrarian changes resulting from the dearth of population on the one hand, and this general impotency on the other, were considerable.

We read of lands in the hands of the Crown owing to the paucity or defect of tenants:[3] of many tenements administered by royal officials through the apathy of heirs in putting forward their claims,[4] and of a few tenants leaving their lands owing to distressed conditions.[5]

advocarii of each commote. In this connection each commote was the member of a particular *castellaria* or castle district, *e.g.*, the commotes of Creuddyn, Ughaph, Issaph, and Nantconway paid their *staurum principis pro municione castri de Conway.*

[1] *Min. Acc.*, 1171, no. 7. [2] *Min. Acc.*, 1149, no. 1.

[3] *Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 40, 43, *et passim.*

[4] *E.g.*, *Min. Acc.*, 1171, no. 8, 5*s.* 8*d.*, the rents of the tenements of Madoc ap Guyn (5*s.*), and Blethyn ap Ior', free tenants of Nantconway, respited because no heirs put forth their claims. See also p. 39 above, n. 1.

[5] Ieuan Voyl blankly refused to hold his hereditary lands in Bodenvewe (*Rec. of Carn.*, p. 74). See also App. III, *s.n.*, Turkelyn.

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The result was that the interests of the Crown in the North Welsh Principality were nominally increased as to the extent of land *in manu domini*, but greatly decreased as to the money profits. This decay appears in the bailiff's account as the "new decay" (*novus decasus*). The new decay in the extent of Malltraeth commote was £6 16*s.* 2*d.*,[1] being the rents formerly received from divers bond lands. "These lands," according to William of Walton, the ringild in 1352, "are in the hands of the lord (prince), through the scarcity of tenants, and because the present tenants of the lord (prince) in the above vills are both unable and insufficient to hold them." The only profits derived from these lands, as the ringild states, were those of herbage. Similar returns, as will be found in the Appendix below, were made by the ringilds of other commotes in Anglesea, and in some instances extended to escheats and freehold lands.

Here, as well as in the many examples of *terræ friscæ* or uncultivated lands referred to in the *Record of Carnarvon* as being in the hands of the Crown, we have a glimpse perhaps of that movement which assumed such great proportions in later centuries, namely, the conversion of arable into pasture lands. This changed method of farming is to some extent held out by the occasional notices to decay in the profits of the mill,[2] and to the reluctance of tenants to farm or rent a mill.[3]

This brings our examination of the "four terms" (p. 18 above) to a close. We have seen how they represent three important factors that contributed to the decay of tribalism

[1] *Min. Acc.*, 1149, no. 1. See App. III (II).
[2] *E.g.*, *Rec. of Carn.*, p. 10 (Doloythelan mill).
[3] *Min. Acc.*, 1149, no. 1 (mills of Llanvaes and Kevyncogh).

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in North Wales during the fourteenth century, viz., the escheat principle, the municipal element, and the Black Death.

We have considered the influence of these three factors chiefly in their effects upon the tenure and cultivation of lands. The escheat principle gradually narrowed the freehold domain, and the Black Death led to a new departure in the social methods of the North Welsh. The evidence available for the Black Death admits of a much more detailed consideration that what it has received at our hands above. The municipal element we have considered in its territorial aspect only, *i.e.*, in its negative influence upon tribalism. In this respect it played an important part in the decay of villeinage in North Wales. The municipal element, in its origin, affected the structure of tribalism, in the sense that it narrowed the base upon which it was established. Its subsequent development hastened away the methods of tribalism.

The civilising influences of the castle, with its *castellaria* or castle district, and of the adjoining town with its market neighbourhood, accustomed the North Welsh to a less tribal mode of living. The cutting down of woods to facilitate communication between the North Welsh towns, gives to the physical North Wales of the late fourteenth century a more civilised aspect. Commercial traits appear in the making of good roads, and in the foundation of quays. The influence of the foundation of towns, and the improved means of communication upon the surrounding economy, is to some extent indicated by the amount of tolls paid in the several markets. During the fourteenth century these show a tendency to increase, but are very irregular owing to political and other disturbances. These are some of the external changes that accompanied the slow disintegration of the wele.

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Our paper points rather to the tendency of events than to the acquisition of definite results. We have not disintegrated the wele, but have illustrated the process. We have not emancipated the villain, but have mentioned some of the ways by which this was brought about.

The Statute of Wales in 1284 marked the beginning of a period of closer conflict between feudal ideas and the facts of tribalism, which came to a point in the Act of Union in 1536. The Black Death gives to the fourteenth century the importance of a turning-point in this period. This is exhibited in one instance in the circumstance of escheated lands. After the Pestilence they are generally farmed by the royal escheator, or let at farm for a number of years to Court favourites and other men of rank. From this point onwards the Crown shows an increased tendency to relegate its interests, on a larger scale, at money profits to private individuals. Escheated lands, like the lands of the dissolved monasteries at a later date, were valuable assets in the rise of the landlord. This tendency towards the accumulation of lands on a large scale is to be found in the accounts of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and of course reflects upon the new relations of Capital and Labour which we know began at this time.

Finally, it may be noted that what has been generally treated of in this paper may, with some exceptions, be specially dealt with in the case of each commote or vill in the North Welsh Principality. Valuable results would no doubt be attained by confining attention to the narrower field of the commote or vill, and extending the enquiry over a longer period, say to the seventeenth century. Or, again, by taking up some specific aspects of the question of the decay of tribalism, some of which are incidentally touched upon in this paper, such as the position of the free tenant, the less fortunate status of the villain and

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his gradual emancipation, the local variations in the character and incidence of tribal customs and their gradual disappearance, and the vill in its structural, custumal, and economic aspects. These are some of the subjects upon which the *Ministers' Accounts* throw much light, and which seem admirably adapted for the purposes of those historical students of our Welsh colleges who are in quest of subjects wherein they may exhibit the exact knowledge and wide reading required by the statutory regulations of the University Thesis.

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I.

Extracts from the Sheriff's Roll of Merioneth from Michaelmas 1308 to Easter 1309.[1]

Compot⁹ Ieuᵃn ap Howel vic̃ de M̓youñ de om̃iođ receptis ⁊ expñs misis ⁊ lib̄ac̨ p̱ ip̄m fcı̃s de exitib; baŧŧie sue a f̄o Mich̄ anno r̃ r̃ E. scđo usq; fm̃ Pasch̄ p̱xᵃ seqns anno supᵃdc̃o.

Idm vic̃ rẽnd; deređđ ⁊ aliis exitib; baŧŧie sue in extenta dc̃i com̃ contenť de—cxxj ŧi xixš xiđ. De co'tent' i' extent'.

Et de xixš de incremento iiij acr̃ ťre Wallenš que fuit Precouñ ⁊ vocatʳ ẏgoẏth rennen in villa de Rettru cū ayš boscoꝝ ⁊ pastur̃ comm̃ eiusđm ville de qᵃ dcũs L Princeps obiit seyš pōit̃ ad firmᵃ ultᵃ extentam hoc dı̃o anno et q̃ extenditʳ ad iijš iiijđ p̱ annū. Co'mot' de Talepont de cont' ultᵃ extent'.

Et de xliiijš de incrẽmtoređđ ⁊ conš ville de Dolgethleu ⁊ m̉cati eiusđm pōit̃ ad firmᵃ ultᵃ extentam hoc dı̃o anno ⁊ q̃ extenditʳ ad lviijš viijđ p̱ annū.

Et de xvjđ de incr̃ uni⁹ acr̃ ťre Wallenš q̃ vocatʳ Talegarreyk in villa de Retcru ⁊ uni⁹ acr̃ ⁊ dı̃ ťre Wallenš q̃ vocatʳ Maesneuath in villa de Pennẏarth [cū ayš in eisđ ut supᵃ đ quib; dcũs L. obiit seyš pōit̃ ad firmᵃ ultᵃ extenť hoc dı̃o anno ⁊ q̃ extenʳ p̱ anm̃ ad][2] vijš.

Et de jđ oƀ de incr̃ ij acr̃ ťre Wallenš q̃ fuit Dđ ap Keffv⁹th in villa de Loyngoril *etc.*, xxđ.

Et de xxđ de incr̃ ij acr̃ ťre Wallenš que vocatʳ orenẏs in villa de Rettu *etc.*, xxđ.

[1] This account is preserved amongst the Welsh section of the general series of Ministers' Accounts deposited at the Public Record Office. The official reference is *Min. Acc.*, bundle 1231, no. 4.

[2] The phrase "cu' ays' in eisd' ut supra d' quib; (*or* qua) dc'us L. obiit seys' po'it ad firmᵃ ultra extent' hoc di'o anno t' q' extenʳ p' an'm ad—" occurs about sixteen times in the Roll. In subsequent entries it is represented by "*etc.*"

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Et de xijđ de increm̃to ij acr̃ ꝟre Wallenš q̃ fuit Turkyl in eađm vill *etc.*, iijš.

Et de jđ de incr̃ dī acr̃ ꝟre Wallenš q̃ vocat[r] terra[1] Waythvam in eađm villa *etc.*, iiijđ.

Et de xiijđ de' incremento uni[o] acr̃ ꝟre Wallenš q̃ vocat[r] ꝟra Waden[o]th in eađm villa *etc.*, xijđ.

Et de ijš de incr̃ iij acr̃ ꝟre Wallenš q̃ fuit Garthloyt in eađm villa *etc.*, viijđ.

Et de xđ de increm̃to uni[o] caruc̃ ꝟre ct[a] castrū de Bere pōit̃ ad firm[a] ult[a] extent̃ hoc dīo anno ꝛ q̃ extent[r] ꝑ ann̄ ad xxš.

Et de iiijđ ob̄ de increm̃to uni[o] acr̃ ꝟre Wallenš que vocat[r] Alnegeỳ in villa de Retcreu *etc.*, vjđ.

Et de iijš iiijđ de incr̃ iiij acr̃ ꝟre Wallenš q̃ fuit Eynō ap Howel in villa de Carthkenvaur *etc.*, vjš viijđ.

Et de iiijđ de incr̃ uni[o] acr̃ ꝟre Wallenš q̃ fuit Wyn ap Ieu[a]n in villa de Pennyarth *etc.*, xijđ.

Et de ijđ de incr̃ xvj acr̃ ꝟre Wallenš q̃ fuit Ade ap Adam̃ mort̃ cont[a] Regꝭ in guerr̃ L. princꝭ in villa de Loyngoril cū ayš ut sup[a] pōit̃ ad firm[a] ult[a] extent̃ hoc dīo anno ꝛ q̃ extendit[r] ad xš ꝑ añm.

Et de xijđ de incr̃ ij acr̃ ꝟre Wallenš q̃ fuit Moruram ap Gurg̃ in villa de Pennyarth *etc.*, ijš.

Sm[a] lviijš xjđ ꝑ[b].

De cont' ex[a] extent' eius-d'm co'moti.

Iđm vic̃ rēndz de vš de i acr̃ ꝟre Wallenš q̃ fuit Ieu[a]n Dro ꝛ de iij acr̃ ꝟre Wallenš que fuit Mađ Duỳ ꝛ vocat[r] Kevencāber in villa de Rectru cū ayš ut sup[a] de q[a] dcūs L. obiit seyš ꝛ t[a]debat[r] obłioni tp̄e confeccōis extente pōit̃ ad firm[a] extra extentam hoc dīo anno.

Et de ijš vjđ de iij acr̃ ꝟre Wallenš q̃ fuit Mađ ap Adaf in eađm villa [cū ayš ut sup[a] de q[a] dcūs L. obiit seyš ꝛ

[1] Interlined in MS.

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t^{a}debat^{r} obliõi ut s^{a} põit̃ ad firm^{a} ext^{a} extentam hoc dĩo anno].[1]

Et de ijs̃ ijđ de una acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Adaf ap Lowarch villani dñi Regꝭ eiusđm ville qui ꝑram suam t^{a}didit in manu dñi Regꝭ prĩs Regꝭ nūc xiij annis elapsis qui eam ꝑpꝑ impotentiam tenenere (*sic*) nō potuit põit̃ ad firm^{a} ext^{a} extent̃ hoc dĩo anno.

Et de xijđ de dĩ acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Tuder ap Ioꝝ Bleyth s^{9} tempe dñi Regꝭ ꝑdc̃i ⁊ J. de Haveryng Justic̃ North Wall̃ in villa de Pennẏarth cū ays̃ ut sup^{a} põit̃ ad firm^{a} ext^{a} extent̃ hoc dĩo anno.

Et de viijđ de q^{a}rtꝭ pte uni^{9} acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Ađ Whith̃ frĩs dc̃i Tuder fug̃ ⁊ utlag̃ coram eođm Justic̃ in eađm villa cū ays̃ ut sup^{a} põit̃ ad firm^{a} extra extentam hoc dĩo anno.

Et de jđ oƀ de q^{a}rta ꝑte uni^{9} acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Eynō Loyt in villa de Loyngoril utlag̃ eođm tempe põit̃ ad firm^{a} extra extentam hoc dĩo anno.

Et de iijđ oƀ de una acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ vocat^{r} Lecte Eden in villa de Retcru *&c.*

Et de vjđ de dĩ acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Moildonẏok bastardi mort̃ sine h̃ede tp̃e J. de Haveryng Justic̃ ꝑdc̃i in villa de Carthkenvaur cū ays ut sup^{a} põit̃ ad firm^{a} ext^{a} extent̃ hoc dĩo anno.

Et de iijs̃ iiijđ de xvj acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Peredur ap Leuł in eađm villa mort̃ cont^{a} Reg̃ in guerra Mađ ap Leuł põit̃ ad firm^{a} Griff fił dc̃i Peredur ext^{a} extentam ꝑ hūc dim̃ añm.

Et de iijs̃ iijđ de iij acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ vocat^{r} Penywern ⁊ q̃ fuit Ph̃i Seys in villa de Rettru *&c.*

Et de vs̃ de iij acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ vocat^{r} maespenveynyk̃ in villa de Keventeythloyn *&c.*

Et de jđ oƀ de j acr̃ ⁊ dĩ ꝑre Wallens̃ cū quodam ꝑvo

[1] As the phrase "cu' ays' ut sup^{a} de qua (*or* quibus) dcus' L. obiit seys' 't t^{a}debat^{r} obli'oi ut sup^{a} poit' ad firm^{a} ext^{a} extent' hoc d'io anno" appears more than fifteen times, it is represented in subsequent entries by "*&c.*"

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curtilag̃ que fuerūt Pħi ap Howel s⁹ in Hiƀn post conquest̃ Regę in villa de Lanmyhangel cū ays̃ ut sup^a ext^a ređđ ⁊ ꝯvicia inde debita q̃ nō extendunt^r ꝑ se set continent^r in cõi extenta ređđ liƀoꝝ ⁊ villanoꝝ dc̃i comoti qui ređđ extent^r [ꝑ añ]¹ ad xxxłi ixs̃ oƀ q^a cui⁹ porc̃o inde est xijđ põit̃ ad firm^a ext^a extent̃ hoc dĩo anno.

Sm^a xxiiijs̃ oƀ ꝑ^b.

Sm^a toł infra ⁊ ext^a extent̃ isti⁹ comoti hoc dĩo anno iiijłi ijs̃ xjđ oƀ ꝑ^b.

Co'mot' de Estum' de cont' ult^a extent'.

Iđm vic̃ rc̃ndȝ de xixđ de incr̃ uni⁹ caruc̃ ꝯre dñice man⁹ii de Estum̃ cū opac̃ villanoꝝ eiusđm man⁹ii põit̃ ad firm^a ultra extent̃ hoc dĩo anno ⁊ q̃ exten^r ꝑ añm ad iiijłi vjs̃ xđ.

Et de iijs̃ ijđ de incr̃ viij acr̃ ꝯre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Gurg̃ Bedar̃ in villa de Pennal cū ays̃ ut s^a ⁊ q̃ continet^r infr^a iij caruc̃ ꝯre Rossorch ⁊ Keventrossalen de quibȝ dcũs L obiit seẏs̃ põit̃ ad firm^a ult^a extent̃ hoc dĩo anno ⁊ q̃ extent^r ꝑ añm ad lxs̃.

Et de xs̃ de pannag̃ porcoꝝ ville de Pennal ult^a extent̃ hoc anno ⁊ quod exten^r ad vs̃.

Et de iiijđ de ređđ concelato tp̃e confecc̃ois extente de vj acr̃ ꝯre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Ioꝝ Vach^an in viłł de Pennal cū ays̃ ut sup^a põit̃ ad firm^a ult^a extent̃ hoc dĩo anno ⁊ q̃ exten^r ꝑ añm ad iijs̃ iiijđ.

Et de xixs̃ vijđ de incr̃ ij caruc̃ ꝯre Wallens̃ de Cathlen Trefrẏth ⁊ Pebethle cū q^adm̃ ꝑticłes p^ati põit̃ ad firm^a ult^a extent̃ hoc dĩo anno ⁊ q̃ exten^r ꝑ añ ad xxs̃ xđ.

Et de iiijđ de incr̃ međ albi Adaf ap Ithel ult^a extent̃ hoc dĩo anno ⁊ quod extent̃ ꝑ annū ad iijs̃ iiijđ.

Et de xxđ de incr̃ iij acr̃ ꝯre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Groñ ap Adaf in villa de Lanlloydeẏ *etc.*, iiijs̃ iiijđ.

Et de lvjs̃ viijđ de incr̃ ville de Towyn ⁊ m⁹cati ibiđm põit̃ ad firm^a ult^a extent̃ hoc dĩo anno ⁊ q̃ extendit^r ꝑ añm ad xxvjs̃ viijđ.

Sm^a iiij łi. xiijs̃ iiijđ ꝑ^b.

¹ Interlined in MS.

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Iđm vic̃ rẽndȝ de vijs̃ vijđ de dĩa acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Grifr̃ ap Eynō dĩ acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Mađđ ap Groñ dĩ acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Dđ ap Groñ j acr̃ ⁊ dĩ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Ririd ap Willym ⁊ dĩ acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Adaf ap Ioꝝ villanoꝝ Princ̃ in villa de Pennal &c. De cont' ex^a extent' eius-d'm co'moti.

Et de vs̃ de iiij^or acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Leuł ap Cadug̃ mortui cont^a Reg̃ in guerra Mađ ap L. in villa de Wreth cū ays̃ ut sup^a põit̃ ad firm^a filiis dc̃i Leuł ext^a extent̃ ꝑ hūc dim̃ añm.[1]

Et de vs̃ iiijđ de j acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Ioꝝ ap Ithel in villa de Pennal &c.

Et de ijs̃ vjđ de j acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ vocat^r maesbryavel in vill̃ de Maeslangedrys &c.

Et de iijs̃ iiijđ de ij acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Kedivor Voel in villa de Pennal &c.

Et de ijs̃ jđ de ij acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit eiusđm Kedyvor in eađm villa &c.

Et de xvjđ de annuo ređđ vj acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ quam map Henri tenȝ in eađm villa cū ays̃ ut sup^a tempe Regꝭ ⁊ Princ̃ ħeditar̃ ⁊ q̃ t^adebat^r obliõi ut sup^a ext^a extent̃ hoc dĩo anno.

Et de xvđ de j acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Hensok̃ mort̃ sine ħede tp̃e H. de Audel Justic̃ in villa de Betalok̃ cū ays̃ ut sup^a põit̃ ad firm^a ext^a extent̃ hoc dĩo anno.

Et de vijs̃ vjđ de annuo ređđ iiij^or acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ quam ygwyrllodyon tenent in villa de Pennal cū ays̃ sup^a tp̃e Regꝭ ⁊ P^inc̃ hereditar̃ ⁊ t^adebat^r obliõi ut sup^a ext^a extentam hoc dĩo anno.

Sm^a xxxvs̃ xiđ ꝑ^b.

[1] This entry, wrongly placed in the account, is here restored to its proper place as directed in the MS.

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Comot' de Penthlyn de cont' ult^a extent'.

Iđm vic̃ rõndȝ de iijs̃ xjđ de incr̃ ij caruc̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuerūt Ririd ap Eynō in villa de Landervayl mort̃ con^a Regem in guerra L. Princ̃ cū ays̃ ut sup^a põit̃ ad firm^a ult^a extent̃ hoc dĩo anno ⁊ q̃ exten^r ꝑ añm ad xxvjs̃ viijđ.

Et de ijs̃ jđ de incr̃ vj acr̃ ꝑre Wallēis̃ que vocat^r Baghglas in villa de Bodenouen *etc.*, ijs̃ viđ.

Et de ijs̃ iiijđ de incr̃ viij acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Eynō ap Ioꝝ[1] Vach^n in villa de Pennaran *etc.*, ijs̃.

Et de xijđ de incr̃ vj acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Howel ap Elisse in eađm villa *etc.*, xxđ.

Et de xviđ de incr̃ iij acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit fił Pħo ap Keñ in eadm̃ villa *etc.*, xviijđ.

Et de vjđ q^a de incr̃ l acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ quam q^atuor firmar̃ ex ꝑte aque[2] de ẏsbeloch tenuerūt in villa de Brynbavon quoꝝ ređđ cons̃ ⁊ opac̃ exten^r ad xxvs̃ vijđ oƀ ꝑ anm̃ *etc.*

Sm^a xjs̃ ijđ q^a ꝑ^b.

De cont' ex^a extent' eius-d'm co'mot'.

Iđm vic rẽndȝ de ixđ de ij acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ vocat^r Kemman in villa de Langeweẏr *&c.*

Et de xxđ de vj acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Ioꝝ ap Eynō Coekꝭ in viłł de Pennaran *&c.*

Et de xxiiijs̃ ijđ de l acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ in villa de Nanthleydiok *&c.*

Et de cs̃ de firm^a villa de Lanvaur ꝑ custum̃ ⁊ tolñ mercati ⁊ Nunđ eiusđm ville ext^a extent̃ hoc dĩo anno.

Et de vijđ de incr̃ iij acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ vocat^r kevenrywaygk ⁊ q̃ fuit Mađđ Pengyl in villa de Laneckẏl *&c.*

Et de xđ de iiij^or acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Aurifabri in viłł

[1] *Ap Ior'* interlined in MS.
[2] *Aque* interlined in MS.

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de Pennaran cū ayš ut sup^{a} morť cont^{a} Regem in guerra L. princ̃ ⁊ t^{a}debat^{r} obliõi ⁊ sup^{a} põiť ad firm^{a} ext^{a} extentam hoc dĩo a^{9}.

Et de iijš iiijđ de vij acr̃ ꝑre Wallenš q̃ fuit Eynō ap Ioꝝ in viłł de Pennaran, *&c.*

Sm^{a} vi łi xiš iiijđ ꝑ^{b}.

Sm^{a} to^{l} ult^{a} ⁊ ext^{a} extenť hoc dĩo anno—vij łi ijš vjđ q^{a} ꝑ^{b}.

Iđm vic̃ rẽndȝ de ijđ de incr^{9}mento uni^{9} curtił ꝑtinenť ad unam caruc̃ ꝑre in Stñgwern ubi man^{9}im̃ p'ns fuit fundať ⁊ põiť in extenta simł cū dc̃a caruc̃ ꝑre ⁊ remotis domibȝ eiusđm maꝑ̃ium dc̃m curtilag̃ sic fuit locať hoc dĩo[1] anno ult^{a} extenť ⁊ q̃ extendit^{r} ꝑ añm ad xxš. Comot' de Ardud' de cont' ult^{a} ext'.

Et de xxjđ de increm̃ť pastur̃ de Nantcoyl q̃ nō põiť menš n^{c} incertū estim̃ qȝ alta montana est q̃ pastur̃ fuit in manu Mađ ap Roꝑꝑt ꝑ xijš vjđ ꝑ iij vaš buttir̃ cōtenť in extenť põiť ad firm^{a} ult^{a} extenť ꝑdc̃am hoc dĩo anno.

Et de viijđ de increm̃to iij boṽ ꝑre Wallenš q̃ fuit magr̃i Ioꝝ Moildonẏok bastardi mortui sine ħede tp̃e dñi Reg̃ prĩs Reg̃ nūc ⁊ J. de Haveryng Justic̃ in villa de Trausvenith cū ayš ut sup^{a} põiť ad firm^{a} ult^{a} extentam hoc dĩo anno ⁊ q̃ extendit^{r} ꝑ annū ad xš.

Et de vš de incr̃ dĩ acr̃ ꝑre Wallenš arabił cū quodam p^{a}to ⁊ pastur̃ q̃ vocat^{r} Glasẏnys de q^{a} dc̃us Leuł obiit seyš põiť ad firm^{a} ult^{a} extenť hoc dĩo anno ⁊ q̃ exten^{r} ꝑ añm ad vš.

Sm^{a} vijš vijđ ꝑ^{b}.

Et de iijš vjđ de rećđ concelato tp̃e confeccoĩs extente de dĩ acr̃ ꝑre Wallenš q̃ fuit Kendalo Chachepol in villa de Lannendoyn cū ayš ut sup^{a} ext^{a} extenť hoc dĩo anno. Comot de' Ardud' de cont' ext^{a} ext'.

Et de ijš vijđ oƀ de annuo rećđ uni^{9} bovate ꝑre Wallenš

[1] *Dio* interlined in MS.

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q^{a}m Howel Voel ⁊ fiꝫ Aurifabri tenent in eađm villa cū ayš ut sup^{a} tp̄e R ⁊ Princ̄ heređ ⁊ t^{a}debat^{r} obliõi ut sup^{a} ext^{a} extenť hoc dĩo anno.

Et de iijš xjđ de annuo ređđ de iij acr̄ ꝑre Wallenš quam Adaf ap Eynō tenȝ in eađm villa, *&c.*

Et de vš de iiij^{or} bovať ꝑre Wallenš q̃ fuit Wyon ap Mađ Buntillh in villa de Lanaƀ, *&c.*

Et de iijš vjđ de annuo ređđ iiij^{or} bovať ꝑre Wallenš quas Wyon ap Moridiḱ tenet in eađm villa cū ayš ut sup^{a} tempe Reg̃ ⁊ Princ̄ hereditar̄ ⁊ t^{a}debat^{r} obliõi ut sup^{a} ext^{a} extenť hoc dĩo anno.

Et de ijš vijđ oƀ de annuo ređđ iij bovať ꝑre Wallenš quas Mađ ap yoves tenȝ in eađm villa cū ayš ut sup^{a} tp̄e Reg̃ ⁊ Princ̄ ⁊ t^{a}debat^{r} obliõi ut sup^{a} ext^{a} extenť hoc dĩo anno.

Et de ijš vjđ de iij ꝑtibȝ uni⁹ acr̄ ꝑre Wallenš Madoci ap Ioꝝ Medẏk in villa de Lannendoyn cū ayš ut sup^{a} de q^{a} dc̄us L. obiit seyš ⁊ q̃ continet^{r} in extena inf^{a} man⁹ium de Stinngwern sub noĩe duoꝝ firmar̄ qui exten^{r} ad xš.

Et de iiijš iiijđ q^{a} de vj bovať ꝑre Wallenš que fuit Groñ ap Heẏlyn in villa de Landeywey morť cont^{a} Reg̃ in guerra Mađ ap Leuꝫ cū ayš ut sup^{a} põiť ad firm^{a} fiꝫ dc̄i Groñ ext^{a} extenť ꝑ hūc dim̃ añm.

Et de vš de annuo ređđ t^{i}um bovať ꝑre Wallenš q^{a}m Ioꝝ ap Runon tenȝ hereditar̄ in villa de Trausvenith tp̄e Regꝭ ⁊ Princ̄ ⁊ t^{a}debat^{r} obliõi ut sup^{a} ext^{a} extentam hoc dĩo anno.

Et de xijđ de Ioꝝ ap Hoydelo Croysak de quođm fine quonđm fc̄o cū L. Princ̄ ut nō cogaret^{r} morare in ꝑris de Thlen sȝ qđ posset morare pro voluntate sua in Com̃ de M⁾yonith qui t^{a}debat^{r} obliõi ut sup^{a} ext^{a} extentam hoc dĩo anno.

Et de vjđ de annuo ređđ de ꝑcia ꝑte uni⁹ bovate ꝑre Wallenš quam Wenthliauc fiꝫ Ade ap Asser tenȝ in villa de Landanok tempe Reg̃ ⁊ Princ̄ heređ ⁊ t^{a}debat^{r} obliõi ut sup^{a} ext^{a} extenť hoc dĩo anno.

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Et de ijs̃ vjđ de iiij^{or} bovat̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ que fuit map Mađ ap Ieu^{a}n bastardi mort̃ sine ħede tp̃e dc̃i L. Princ̃ in villa de Landekwẏn cū ays̃ ut sup^{a} ⁊ t^{a}debat^{r} obliõi ut sup^{a} põit̃ ad firm^{a} ext^{a} extent̃ hoc dïo anno.

Et de xvijs̃ vijđ oƀ de t^{i}bȝ bovat̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ que fuit Ade ap Ioꝝ quonđm decani de Ardudo mort̃ sine ħede tp̃e W. de Suttoñ Justic̃ North Wałł in villa de Lanaƀ cū ays̃ ut sup^{a} põit̃ ad firm^{a} ext^{a} extentam hoc dïo anno.

Et de vs̃ vđ oƀ q^{a} de iij acr̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit magri Cadug̃ sine ħede discedent̃ in villa de ffestiniok cū ays̃ ut sup^{a} põit̃ ad firm^{a} ext^{a} extentam hoc dïo anno.

Et de xijđ de ꝑcia ꝑte uni^{9} bovate ꝑre q̃ fuit Kendalo Aunnous villani Regꝭ in vilł de Lannendoẏn, *&c.*

Et de vijđ de una bovat̃ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Dđ Gam in villa de Trasvenẏth, *&c.*

Et de xvjđ de una bovat̃ ⁊ dĩ ꝑre Wallens̃ q̃ fuit Tuder ap Tegwaret utlagati ꝑ morte Leuł ap Keñ ⁊ frĩs sui inꝑfectoꝝ q̃ devenit ad manū Regꝭ tamq^{a}ȝ escaeta sua ꝑ utlagar̃ p^{9}dcãm [tempor̃ H. de Audeł][1] põit̃ ad firm̃ ext^{a} extentam hoc dïo anno.

Et n^{l} de pannag̃ porc̃ hoc anno qȝ pessona ⁊ alii fruct^{9} boscoꝝ deficient̃ in comoto p^{9}dc̃o ꝑ quod nułł aliar' ꝑciū q^{a}ȝ dc̃i comoti ibiđm venit ad agistanđ n^{c} nullū debet^{r} pannag̃ de residentibȝ in eođm cõmoto[1] sive fu^{9}it pessona sive nō ⁊ hoc a tep̃e quo nō extat memor̃.

Sm^{a} lxiijs̃ oƀ ꝑ^{b}.

Sm^{a} to^{l} ult^{a} ⁊ ext^{a} extentam isti^{9} comoti hoc dïo anno— lxxs̃ vijđ oƀ ꝑ^{b}.

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[1] Interlined in MS.

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The following is an outline of the remainder of the account, showing the Total Charge and Discharge:—

	£	s.	d.
(*a*) Farms (firmæ) of the mills ...	3	15	8
(*b*) Fisheries		13	4
(*c*) Farm of the Passage of Aberdovey		10	10
(*d*) Farms of the Bailiffs	26	18	4
(*e*) Farms of the Woodwards ...	11	16	4
(*d*) Protection Tenants (advocarii) ...	1	11	0
(*e*) Horse Stud (firma Staloñ) ...	7	15	0
(*f*) Fines and Amercements ...	101	15	9½
(*g*) Forest Perquisites	7	9	1
(*h*) Relief and Gobr	13	19	8
Total over (ultra) and above (extra) the extent	£197	10	8¾
Sum total receipts for the half-year	£319	10	7¾

Discharge (*inde*)—

(*a*) In decay (particulars given on the dorse of the roll)	1	18	4
(*b*) Necessary expenses (repairs of mills and royal ferry boats)[1]	3	11	4
(*c*) Sheriff's Fee	10	0	0
(*d*) Paid into the Treasury	236	9	9
	£251	19	5
Allowed (on account of the manor of Crogan)	1	10	0
Paid subsequently	49	19	7¾
And he still owes ...	£16	1	7

[1] Particulars given on a schedule sewed on to the end of the roll.

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APPENDIX II.

Ancient Petitions.

A.—Concerning Suit and Service at the County and Hundred Courts.

I.

Ad cõem peticõem de sectis ad com̃. Responsum est qđ iniũctũ est Justic̃ qđ irrotulari faciat nõia om̃i eoꝝ qui ħnt nunc quatuoꝝ bovat̃ terre vł amplius vł alia terr̃ ad valenc̃ quatuor bovataꝝ terr̃ ⁊ videat Justic̃ quomodo ad comodũ dñi Princ̃ ⁊ utilitatem pp̃łi meli⁹ ordinari pot⁹it quod om̃es hui⁹modi tenentes faciunt sect̃ ad com̃ ⁊ hundr̃. Ita qđ dñs Princ̃ de secta illa ꝑcessu tp̃ris ꝑ peticionem[1] ħeditatis cũ ad plures ħedes deven⁹it non defraudet^r nec in aliquo sit ꝑdens q^in de teñ illis fiat ei secta ad com̃. Ita qđ si ille qui ad sectam illam tenet^r faciend̃ defaltam fecerit licꝫ ꝑpartem ip̃m inde contingentem tantum teneat am⁹ciet^r tñ scđm q^antitatem teñ ꝑ quibꝫ secta debet^r ⁊ contribuant ei ꝑticipes ꝑ secta p⁹dc̃a vł quilibet fac⁹e sectam ⁊ tunc scđm q^antitatem ꝑprie tenencie am⁹ciet^r si defaltam fec⁹it. Quin v^o min⁹ tenuerit q^am quatuor bovatas ⁊r̃ fac⁹e sectam ad hundr̃ ad que quiłt venire teneat^r ⁊ non ad com̃ ut parcat^r de cet⁹o laboribꝫ ⁊ expens̃ ħom̃i ꝑciũ illaꝝ. Dictũ est Justic̃ qđ scire fac̃ omibꝫ quoꝝ in⁊est se conqueri volentibꝫ vł aliquis petentibꝫ in consimilibꝫ casibꝫ qui in istis rotulis inferunt^r qđ veniant coram eo ⁊ ostendant suas peticões ⁊ ab eo in consimili casa recipiant similes responsiones. Om̃es v^o qui conquer̃i volu⁹int de vic̃ Ringild vł aliis ministris p⁊̃ q^am de Justic̃ ⁊ eam coram Justic̃ ⁊ coram eo recipiant iusticiam. Ita qđ nullus veniat ad Cur̃ Princ̃ cum peticionibꝫ vł querimoniis nisi eas p^imo Justic̃ ostenderit ⁊ nisi Justic̃ deficiat ei de iusticia.—*Rec. of Carn.*, p. 214 (*Harl. MS.* 696, f. 128b).

[1] *Sic* in MS., apparently a miscript for *particionem*.

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II.

Ad cõem petic̃oem fc̃am qđ cum diverse terre div⁹sas sectas ad comitatus ⁊ hundreda debentes ad m⁹[1] uni⁹ tenentis ꝑ decensum ħeditar̃ deven⁹int non compellat^r hui⁹ tenens ad div⁹sas sectas fac̃ set ad unam solam teñ; respons̃ est qđ de cet⁹o sufficiat appencia uni⁹ ꝑsone ad com̃ vł hundr̃a ħntis plura teñ div⁹sas sectas debencia ad com̃ vł hundr̃ illa; statū qđ si faciat defaltam ad Com̃ vł hundr̃ in quo teñ sunt ꝑ quibȝ diverse secte debent^r debet am⁹ciari scđm div⁹sa teñ que tenet div⁹sas secta debencia ad comitat⁹ vł hundr̃ p̊dc̃a ⁊ q^antitatem eoꝝđm.—*Rec. of Carn.*, p. 213.

B.—Concerning Escheats.

(*a.*) *Escheat of land "in ward" of Llewelyn ap Gruffudd.*

I.

Dño suo dño E Regi Anglie ⁊ suo consilio demonst⁹at Iorwerth goch ap Pħi liber tenens dñi reg̃ de villa de llechauc de comoto Twrkelẏn in Com̃ Angleseẏe qđ cū olim tempe Lewelini p^incipis Wallie pr̃e dc̃i Ioꝝ decedente ⁊ ip̃o tūc q^asi intimabilis ⁊ minori etate existente. Iđm p̊nceps terras suas seu pr̃imoniū dc̃i Ioꝝ in manu sua fecit occupari ⁊ teneri quousqȝ ꝑsolv⁹it septem libras quas solv⁹e tenebatur eiđm p^incipi ꝑ releviis ⁊ gobẏrẏstẏn pr̃is sui ⁊ alioꝝ coħedū suoꝝ mortuoꝝ unde int̊fecto p^incipe antedc̃o solutis qȝ septem libr̃ antedcĩs ad manus dñi Rog̊ de Pulestoñ tūc vĩc dñi Rꝭ pr̃is vr̃i in Angleseya. Iđ Ioꝝ ad pat^imoniū suū ⁊ terras fuit restitutus ⁊ inde seisitus extitit don^c ꝑ dñm Wiłłm de Suttoñ quonđ Justic̃ vr̃m Northwałł ad suagiones quoꝝdam emuloꝝ suoꝝ fuit it̊um deseisitus ⁊ terre sue minus juste ad op⁹ vr̃m extentate ad tres libr̃ cū dĩ annuati extiterunt unđ iđm Ioꝝ senciens se g^avatū pluries Cur̃ vr̃am ꝑ remedio inde optinendo secutus łras

[1] Altered from iu' on comparing with *Harleian MS.*, 696, f. 127b.

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vr̃as grasiose ꝑ vos s^{i} multociens concessas ad dñm Rog̃m de Mortꝯ Mari Justic̃ vr̃m Wałł sepius reportavit. Quibus ƚris nō obstantibꝫ terre sue in manu vr̃a detinentur. Quare pet̃ iđm Ioꝫ qđ intuitu pietatis ⁊ ꝑ aĩabus antecessoꝫ vroꝫ inq^{i}sita ꝑ fidedingnos de pr̃ia suꝑ hñs plenius si op^{9} fu^{9}it veritate terre sue ħreditarie antedc̃o restitui fac̃ eiđm justicia exigente.

[*Endorsed.*]

Mandet^{r} Justic̃ qđ informet se ut ī alia peticōe.[1]

Insp^{c}ta peticione ista ⁊ pleni^{9} intellecta scđm tenorē ƀris informat^{9} sum tam ꝑ inqõm q^{a}ꝫ aliis modis ⁊ viis. Inveni qđ Leuelin^{9} q^{o}ndam p^{i}nceps Wałł cepit terr̃ ⁊ teñ in hac peticõne contenta in manu suam ꝑ releṽ ⁊ gobirstyn a ret^{o} existentibꝫ ꝑ mortē Pħi Gouh pr̃is p̊dc̃i Ioꝫ ip̃o Ioꝫ tunc tempis infra etatem existente ⁊ non de potestate ad solvenđ p̊dcõs releṽ ⁊ gobirstyn quiquiđm Lewelin^{9} sic int^{a}vit in p^{9}dcĩs teñ ⁊ nulla alia causa unde idem Lewelin^{9} obiit s^{c} seisit^{9} de p̊dcĩs teñ cont^{a} pacem ⁊ s^{c} teñ p̊dc̃a devenerūt ad manū dñi ℞ [pr̃is dni ℞][2] nūc ꝑ conq^{c}stū simul cū aliis terr̃ ⁊ teñ que fu^{9}nt eiusdem Lewelini ⁊c^{9}.—*Ancient Petitions*, (P.R.O.), No. 9,986.

I (*a*).

Au Chaunciler nr̃e seign^{r} le Roẏ mostre Iorward ap Phelip Gogħ de Zleghogh en le kẏmmot de Turkellẏn en le Counte Dangleseẏe en Northħgales qe de ix carues de ⁊re les queux il avoit en le kẏmmot de Turkellẏn mesmes ceaux ⁊res apres la mort son piere devẏndrent en la meẏn Leulẏn adonqe p^{i}nce de Gales. Et la garde del dit Iorward ap Phelip̃ auxi devẏndrent en la meẏn le dit Leulẏn ꝑ reson del nounage le dit Iorward. Parquei quaunt le Roẏ E. piere nr̃e seign^{r} le Roẏ E. q̃ ore est gaẏna la dite ⁊re de Gales mons̃ Otes de Graunzon q̃ fust Justic̃ adonq̃s de Northgales enquist le dreit q̃ le dit Iorward

[1] This petition contains a few more details. It is printed below I (*a*).
[2] Interlined in MS.

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avoẏt en la dite ꝛre et livera la dite ꝛre au dit Iorward com son dreẏt heritage ⁊ il le tẏnt peysiblement tanqe nr̃e seign^{r} le Roẏ E q̃ ore est fust p^{i}nce de Gales et adonq̃ mons Hugh Daudeleẏe adonq̃ Justic̃ de mesme la ꝛre de Northgales et vynt Griffith ap Oweẏn ⁊ p^{i}st les dites ꝛres en la meẏn le dit p^{i}nce et ꝑ defaute de suite de cel temps tannqe en cea les dites terres ount demores en la meẏn le dit nr̃e seign^{r} le Roẏ parquei le dit Iorward p^{i}e pur dieu ⁊ p^{r} lam^{r} de nr̃e alme q̃ vo^{9} lẏ grauntez bref a mons Ro^{9} de Mortẏmer Justic̃ de Northgales p^{r} enquere de les dites ꝛres quel dreẏt le dit Iorward ad en les dites ꝛres. Issi q̃ la Court nr̃e seign^{r} le Roẏ ꝑvisse estre certefie de leaute.—*Ancient Petitions* (P.R.O), No. 14,779.

(*b.*) *Touching the Enclosure of Escheat Lands.*

II.

Ad cõem peticõem fc̃am qđ si alique terre ꝑveniant ad m^{9}[1] Princ̃ ꝑ escaetam seu inpotenciam tenenciū eaꝛđm hui^{9} terre non teneant^{r} in defenso vł separi ali^{9} q^{a}m fieri consuevit tempibꝫ hui^{9} tenenciū; respons est qđ videt^{r} Princ̃ qđ hoc esset ꝑ utilitate pp̃li sui concedit qđ de ce^{9}o fiat illis scđm qđ fieri consuevit tempibꝫ hui^{9} tenenciū ip̃e apte ⁊ non ali^{9}.—*Rec. of Carn.*, p. 213.

(*c.*) *Touching the Payment of the "Extended Rent".*

III.

Dño Edward Regi Anglie ⁊ suo consilio demonstrat g^{n}ff ap peredur de comoto de talẏpont in M[ẏ]ẏonnẏd qđ est agg^{a}vat^{9} ⁊ injuste districtus ad solvend extentā ⁊ Redditū annuał ꝑ hereditate sui q^{i}quiđm p̃ suus fuit mortuus in ultima guerra ī Wallia. Et dns Rex Edward^{9} bone memorie fecit grām om̄ibꝫ heredib^{9} illoꝛ q^{i} fuerūt mortui ī tempor̃ p^{9}dc̃o [⁊ qđ forisfactur̃ nō fc̃et].[2] Et quia dc̃us

[1] Altered from iu' on comparing with *Harleian MS.* 696, f. 127*b*.
[2] Interlined in MS.

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Guffud [apperedur]erat tunc ita ꝑvus ⁊ debit qđ nō potuit dñm Regē adire. Iō est distict⁹ ad solvend extentā ⁊ redditū q[a]re supplicat dñacom vič ꝑ deo ut eiđm grām ⁊ remedium concedeř digneum sicut alii consimiles ħu⁹nt sine īcreñto aliq° excepto redditu annali.

[*Endorsed.*]

Vis est a ꝯseil sil plest a nře seign[r] le Roi q̄ mandez soit a la Justice ou a son lieu tenant q̄ ven lordeinement senforme s[r] les choses ꝯtenues en ceste peticion ⁊ c⁹tifie ⁊c⁹.—*Ancient Petitions* (P.R.O.), No. 2405.

IV.

A nostre seignour le Roẏ ⁊ a son consail mustre Adm̄ ap Davitꝯ q̄ com soen pere fust desceẏse apres le conquest de Galys de vj bove de terre ⁊ une nauffꝯ ꝑ les baillieȝ le Roẏ q̄ furūt al home en la ville de kilan en le conte de Kanerwan ⁊ lẏ fuerit estendre al oeps le Roẏ au x soutȝ ꝑ anne sanceȝ nulle maner de reson ⁊ pousce en sa est en la maẏn le Roẏ. Par qei prie le ditꝯ Adm pur dieu q̄ ħome luẏ face sour cel la remedẏ ⁊ resoun.

H' ħre—Justič qđ[1] inquirat veritatem ⁊ certificet Regem.—*Ancient Petitions* (P.R.O.), No. 5271.

APPENDIX III.

Documents Illustrating the Influence of the Black Death.

I.—*The Temporary Remission of Staurum Principis in the Principality of North Wales.*

Edward eisneȝ filȝ ⁊c⁹. A nře cħr vadlet Joħi de Delves lieu tenaunť nre Justice de Northħ galeȝ ⁊ a nře cħ clerč meistre Roberd Pollard nře chamblein iteqs: saluȝ. Purce q̄ no⁹ de nřa g[a]ce especīale ꝑ avis de nře conseil avons

Sc[i]bant[r] l're[s] de Staur'.

[1] *Qđ* interlined in MS.

[2] *Min. Acc.* (General Series), 1171-4, m. 1 (dorse).

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respites a noȝ tenaunȝ bondes ꝛ gents de noȝ aveweries leȝ deniers de queux nos Auditours des acomptes leȝ ount charges pʳ estover a les garnestures de noȝ chasteux diens voȝ baillies puis le temps de la pestilence. Vous mandons q̃ vous sʳseeȝ desore du lever de leȝ deniers susditeȝ tanqȝ vous eut eietȝ altre mandement de nous. Done souȝ nr̃e prive seal a Loundres le xxx jour de Juyl lan du regne nr̃e tresch̄ seignʳ ꝛ piere le Roi Dengletꝰre vintism sism ꝛ de Ffranc̃ tresim.

II.

The Black Death in Anglesea.[1]

(a.) *Maletrayth Commote.*

Compotus Wiłłi de Waltoñ Ring̃ ib̄m a fõ sc̃i Mich̄is aᵒ rr̃ E ꝛcii a conq̃ xxiiijᵗᵒ pⁱncipatꝰ dñi E princ̃ Wałł viijᵒ usqȝ idem f̄m ꝑx̃ seqñ aᵒ dc̃i ℞ xxvᵗᵒ ꝛ pⁱncipatꝰ dc̃i princ̃ ixᵒ

. . . . . .

Exit' maner'. Et de xviiijs̃ ijđ rec̃ [de h̄bag̃][2] divꝰsaꝝ ꝛraꝝ friscaꝝ [natioꝝ][2] exist̃ in mañ dñi ꝑ defect̃ teñ in villa de Dysteneyth.

Et de xviijs̃ iiijđ rec̃ de h̄bag̃ hiꝰ ꝛr̃ nat̃ in villa de Trefithꝰon.

Et de xxiijs̃ xjđ rec̃ de [h̄bag̃][2] hiꝰ tꝰr̃ [nat][2] in villa de Rosvaur.

Et de xviijđ rec̃ de ꝛr̃ quonđ Howel ap Teg̃ in villa de Dyndreveł̄ł.

Smᵃ lxjs̃ xjđ.

. . . . . .

Antiq' decas'.[3] Smᵃ xvjs̃. iiijđ ob̄.

. . . . . .

Novus decas' Iđm comp̃ in decas̃ rećđ ꝛre David Moil de viłł de

[1] The following extracts are taken from *Min. Acc.*, 1149, no. 9.
[2] Interlined in MS.
[3] In respect of lands granted to the burgesses of Beaumaris.

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Trefdisteneẏt vs̃ iiijđ, Groñ Witħ iiijs̃ iiijđ, Turlagħ xxijs̃ iiijđ, Mađ ap Jocḱ vijs̃ ⁊ Ieu^{a}n ap Groñ de eađm villa xs̃ xđ, Cađ ap Jock de Trefithon vs̃ iiijđ, Atħ Lywitħ vs̃ iiijđ, Ioꝝ ap Jocḱ iiijs̃ iiijđ, Mađ Loit iijs̃, Ieu^{a}n Loit iijs̃, Elayn ꝟgh Mađ iijs̃ viijđ, Bleđ from đi marc̃, Mađ Ruth de eađm villa iijs̃ ijđ, Howel ap Teg̃ de Dyndrovel vs̃, Hova Goch de villa de Rosmor xđ, Jocḱ ap Eigñ đi marc̃, Mađ ap Gurg̃ iiijs̃ vjđ, Ieu^{a} ap David ijs̃ iiijđ, Eva kemmen vjs̃ ijđ, Jocḱ Revel ijs̃ vjđ, Ioꝝ ap Mađ vjđ, Mađ ap Ieu^{a} xjđ, Ioꝝ ap Ithel ijs̃ iiijđ, Lowar ap Ieu^{a} ijs̃ iiijđ Bleđ ap Moil ijs̃, Kefn̄ Gocħ ijs̃, Ioꝝ ap Ieu^{a} xxijđ, Cađ Vair xiđ, Ieu^{a} ap David iiijs̃ viijđ, Groñ ap Eigñ ijs̃ iiijđ, Eva Loẏt xxđ, Eigñ ap Edenawẏn xvjđ, ⁊ ꝟr̃ Jocḱ in eađm villa ijs̃ que ꝟre sūt nat̃ ⁊ in mañ dñi ꝑ defect̃ tenent̃ ⁊ ꝑ eo qđ nūc tenent̃ dñi in eisđm vill̃ sunt impotentes ⁊ insufficent̃ ad easđm ꝟr̃ tenenđ. D̶ quaꝝ ꝟr̃ ħbag̃ iđm Ring̃ r̃ sup^{a} in exit̃ maner̃.

Sm^{a} novi decas̃ vjłi xvjs̃ ijđ.[1]

(*b.*) *Llywan Commote.*

Rhingyll: David Vaghan ap David Lloyd.

. . . . . .

Et de lijs̃ xjđ rec̃ de pastura ꝟr̃ villañ exist̃ in manu dñi ꝑ defc̃u tenenc̃ vȝ de ꝟra in G^{a}folẏn que alias nuncupat^{r} Trefdolfẏn xs̃ vđ, ꝟr̃ Groñ ap Einoñ ijs̃, ꝟr̃ Map Ririt xxđ, terr̃ Hoel ap Dđ vs̃ de ꝟcia ꝑte ꝟre frisc̃ in Botnawlwẏn viz. ꝟr̃ Mađ Off, Teg̃ Duẏ, Atha Gutta, Pħ ap Atha, Map ẏ Gurmoẏl, Meur^{c} ap Dđ, xs̃ vjđ, rec̃ de Mađ ap Gr̃ ⁊ Dđ Vach^{a}m de alꝟa ꝑte eaꝝdem ꝟr̃ in eadem villa de Botnawluyn xs̃, rec̃ de (Dđ ap][2] Gr̃ ⁊ soc̃ suis ⁊ de ꝟcia ꝑte eaꝝdem ꝟr̃ in eadem villa xs̃ rec̃ de Kađ ap Gr̃ ⁊ soc̃ suis (*sic*). Exit' maner'.

Sm^{a} lijs̃ xjđ.

. . . . . .

[1] The following note appears in the margin of the roll directly opposite to this total :—"Alloc' ad p'sens eo qd' Ring' r'spond' sup' de p'fic' ear'd' t'r' in exit' maner'."

[2] *Dd' ap* interlined in MS.

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Antiq' decas'.[1]

Sm^{a} viijs̃ vjđ.

. . . . . .

Novus decas' t'r natioȝ.

In decas̃ rećđ ꝑre in Trefdolfyn nõxat̃ in ext̃ Grafolyn exist̃ in mañ dñi ꝑ defc̃u tenent̃ xxs̃ xđ uñ xs̃ xđ de rećđ ass̃ cons̃ ⁊ at̃ s⁹vic̃ in eadem villa cont̃ in ext̃ ⁊ xs̃ conting̃ eandem villā de ꝑte xlijs̃ vijđ oƀ de om̃ibȝ villañ istius cōmoti. Et ꝑre in Trefẏclok aŧ nūcupat̃ Trefidol vjs̃ viijđ. Et ꝑre Grenoñ ap Eynon vjs̃ viijđ, ꝑre Map Rir⁹t iijs̃ iiijđ, ꝑre Howel ap Dđ ixs̃ vjđ, ꝑre Treffẏmedẏgon in villa de Trefmybẏon Meur^{c} vjs̃, ꝑre Mađ Of, Teg̃ Duẏ, Ađ Gutta, Pħ ap Ađ, Map y Gurmoil, Meur^{c} ap Ađ in Bodenawluẏn xliiijs̃ vjđ, que ꝑre sepant^{r} in tres ꝑtes unde queŧt ꝑs xiiijs̃ xđ, ꝑre Lŧ ap M⁾eđ viijđ, ꝑre M⁾eđ Benir viijđ, que ꝑre sunt de villañ dñi ⁊ in mañ dñi de escaet̃ ꝑ defc̃u tenenc̃ ⁊ quia nat̃i adhuc suꝑstites in eodem cōmoto sunt impotentes ad dc̃as ꝑr̃ tenenđ. Ꝺ quaꝝ ꝑr̃ exit̃ idem Ring̃ r̃ sup^{a} in exit̃[2] maner̃.

Sm^{a} noṽ decas̃—iiijŧi xviijs̃ xđ.

Exitus maner'.

(c.) *Talebolyon Commote.*

Rhingyll: Peter de Overton.

t'r' Escaet.

Et de vjs̃ ijđ de herbag̃ ꝑr̃ que fuer̃ Meređ Benhir exist̃ in mañ dñi de esc̃ in viłł de Thlanbugel que t⁹ra soleƀ rećđ ꝑ anñ xvs̃ viđ unde on⁹at^{r} sup^{a}.

Et de xiiijs̃ iiijđ de ħbag̃ xxx acr̃ ꝑr̃ que fuer̃ Lŧ ap Meređ in eađm villa exist̃ in mañ dñi eođm modo ⁊ que soleƀ dimitt̃ ꝑ xxvjs̃ viijđ unde r̃ sup^{a}.

Et de ijs̃ de ħbag̃ ꝑre Ioꝝ ap Mađ in Trefwadok exist̃ in m⁹ dñi eođm modo[3] et que soleƀ dimitt̃ ꝑ iijs̃ iiijđ unde r̃ sup^{a}.

Et de iiijs̃ de ħbag̃ xx acr̃ ꝑre que fuer̃ Groñ Cragth in villa de Cardicanƙ exist̃ in mañ dñi ut sup^{a} que soleƀ dimitt̃ ꝑ viijs̃ oƀ uñ r̃ sup^{a}.

[1] In respect of lands granted to the burgesses of Beaumaris.

[2] *Exit'* interlined in MS. [3] *Modo* interlined in MS.

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Et de vjs̃ viijđ de ħbag̃ i mes̃ ⁊ x acr̃ ꝑr̃ đi acr̃ pᵃti que fuer̃ Edeñ ap Groñ in dc̃a villa que soleƀ dimitt̃ ꝑ xjs̃ ijđ unde r̃ supᵃ.

Et de iijs̃ iiijđ de ħbag̃ v boṽ ꝑr̃ que fuer̃ Traharon Hlethyn in vill de Kuenkernok que soleƀ dimitt̃ ꝑ xvs̃ ijđ unde r̃ supᵃ.

Et de xiiijs̃ viđ de ħbag̃ ꝑr̃ villañ in Aƀalaw que Mađ ap Pħ, Eigñ ap Pħ, Llower ap Pħ, Ieuᵃ ap Deẏk, ẏcorrẏn (?), Ioꝝ ap ẏmeel, nat̃ tenuer̃ ꝑ xxxijs̃ ijđ ꝑ añn exist̃ in manꝰ dñi eo qđ nat̃i qui suꝑstites fuer̃ iƀm post pestilenc̃ nō fuer̃ suffient̃ ꝑpꝰ eoꝝ impotenciam ad dcãs ꝑr̃ tenenđ ꝑut testatʳ ꝑ Joħ de Delves locū teñ ⁊ camer̃.

Et de xijs̃ vijđ de ħbag̃ ꝑr̃ quas Map Eignon Qwẏth, Cochẏn, Gr̃ ap Ađ, Map ẏ peẏswẏn, ⁊ kellẏn tenuer̃ in Carnedawr ꝑ xxijs̃ iiijđ ꝑ añn existin mꝰ cã ꝑdc̃a.

Et de vs̃ rec̃ de ħbag̃ ꝑre quam[1] Map Gwẏon tenuit in Merẏogen ꝑ xs̃ vjđ ꝑ añm exist̃ in mꝰ dñi c̃a ꝑdc̃a.

Et de xvijs̃ vjđ de ħbag̃ ꝑr̃ nat̃ quas Tuđ ap Kiffv⁾th, ẏkew, Map Gwẏon, Rys, Mᵃđ ap Ieuᵃ, ⁊ Ioꝝ ap Ieuᵃ tenuer̃ in Llanvol ꝑ xxxs̃ ꝑ añn exist̃ in manꝰ dñi ut supᵃ.

Et de vs̃ ixđ de ħbag̃ ꝑr̃ nat̃ quas Mađ ap Groñ Heilyn With tenuer̃ in Botronẏm ⁊ Meređ ap Gorganow Voil teñ in Kafvan ꝑ xijs̃ vjđ ꝑ añm̃.

Smᵃ iiijti xjs̃ xđ.

. . . . . Decas'.

Iđm comp̃ in decas̃ ređđ ꝑr̃ que fuit Meređ Benhir exist̃ in mañ dñi ꝑ escaet̃ in vill de Thlanbugel xvs̃ vjđ eo qđ null possūt ħer̃ tenent̃ uñ onꝰatʳ supᵃ, ⁊ r̃ de ħbag̃ supᵃ.

It̃m in decas̃ vjᵗᵉ ꝑt̃ j molenđ in eađem vill exist̃ in mꝰ dñi eođm modo ⁊ decaditʳ adiu xijđ.

Et xxx acr̃ ꝑre que fuer̃ Lt ap M⁾đ in eađm villa in mꝰ dñi consit decaus̃ xxvjs̃ viijđ.

Et ꝑr̃ Ioꝝ ap Mađ in Trefwadok in mꝰ dñi consit decaus̃ iijs̃ iiijđ.

[1] *Quam* interlined in MS.

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Et xx acr̃ ꝑr̃ que fuer̃ Gr̃ Cragth̃ in vill̃ de Cardecank in m^{o} dñi consil̃ decaus̃ viijs̃ ob̃.

Et j mes̃ ⁊ x acr̃ ꝑr̃ di acr̃ p^{a}ti dī acr̃ ꝑbar̃ que fuer̃ Edeñ ap Groñ in eadm vill̃ in m^{o} dñi cons̃ decaus̃ xjs̃ ijd̃.

Et v bov̄ ꝑr̃ cū aisiament que fuer̃ Traharon ap Blethin in vill̃ de Canꝑnok in m^{o} dñi consil̃ de causa xvs̃ ijd̃.

In decas̃ redd̃ ꝑr̃ nat̃ exist̃ in man̄ dñi eo qd̃ nati qui supstites sūt inpotentes ⁊ insufficient̃ ppꝑ eoꝝ impotent̃ ⁊ pauptatē ad totam ꝑr̃ ibm tenend̃ cvijs̃ vd̃ vidlt [in Abalaw][1] p ꝑra Mad̃ ap Ph̃ xs̃ viijd̃, Eign̄ ap Ph̃ vs̃ iiijd̃, Llowar ap Ph̃ iijs̃ xd̃, Ieu^{a} ap Deik̃ iiijs̃, Ycorrỳn iijs̃ iiijd̃, Loꝝ ap Ymoel vs̃, in Carnedawr ꝑr̃ Map Eign̄ Qwyth vjs̃, ꝑr̃ Cochỳn viijs̃ xd̃, ꝑr̃ Map Ypeỳswỳn vjs̃ ixd̃, ꝑr̃ Kellỳn viijd̃, in Merỳogen ꝑ ꝑr̃ Map Gwỳon xs̃ vjd̃, in Llanvol ꝑ ꝑr̃ Tud̃ ap Kiff^{9}i vs̃, ꝑr̃ ykiw vs̃, ꝑr̃ Map Gwỳon vs̃, ꝑr̃ Rỳs vs̃, ꝑr̃ Mad̃ ap Ieu^{a} vs̃, ꝑr̃ Loꝝ ap Ieu^{a} vs̃, in Bottronỳn ꝑr̃ Mad̃ ap Groñ ap Ath̃ ijs̃ viijd̃, ꝑr̃ Heilyn Wehid xxijd̃, ⁊ Kaffnan ꝑr̃ M^{d} ap Gorgañ Voil viijs̃.

Sm^{a} tot^{l} decas̃, ixli viijs̃ iijd̃ ob̃.

(d.) Turkelyn Commote.

Rhingyll: Thomas de Colney.[2]

. . . . . .

[Alloc'.] De quibꝫ alloc̃ eidm vjli ixs̃ ixd̃ ob̃ vꝫ vjs̃ vd̃ de ꝑte xjs̃ xd̃ redd̃ villañ de Curthlaỳet in Sistulas exist̃ in m^{9} dñi ꝑ defect̃ teñ ⁊ nō plus qꝫ lev̄ de hbag̃ vs̃ vd̃.

Et liijs̃ iiijd̃ de ꝑte vjli xvijs̃ iiijd̃ redd̃ villañ vill^{a}[3] de Botunot vocat̃ in extent̃ Bodaven eo qd̃ v villañ q^{i} supstites sūt sic̃ impotentes ad dcām vill̃ tenend̃ ⁊ vix potuer̃ solver̃ iiijli ijd̃ resid̃.

Et xjs̃ vjd̃ de ꝑte lijs̃ de ꝑte lijs̃ jd̃ ob̃ redd̃ villañ de Bodenỳneỳ vocat̃ in extent̃ Bodenauyn exist̃ in m^{9} dñi eo

[1] Interlined in MS.

[2] After accounting for his charge and discharge the rhingyll owes £15 18*s.* 9½*d.*, of which £6 9*s.* 9½*d.* (here specified) are allowed.

[3] *Vill'* interlined in MS.

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qđ nō sūt iƀm nisi duo teñ uñ j tenens naĩ ⁊ alꝰ de advocaĩ qui reddȝ xs̃ ijđ ⁊ j teñ vocaĩ Deẏck qđ soł ređđ xvijs̃ iiijđ dimittebat^r ꝑ vjs̃ et xxxiiijs̃ ixđ oƀ resiđ levaĩ sūt de ħbag̃ eiusđm ville.

Et lvs̃ vjđ de ꝑte lxxvs̃ vjđ de ređđ ꝰre que fueĩ Gervas̃ Pħi ⁊ Pħ Goch acciđ dño de esc̃ qȝ reꝑti in m⁹ Lł Princip̃ ꝑ releṽ ⁊ Gobr inde debiĩ uñ iijs̃ de incr̃o ꝑ Wiłł ap Gr̃ Escaeĩ ⁊ nō pl⁹[1] qȝ Groñ ap Gwethẏn naĩ teñ; ꝑcełł eiusđm ꝰre ꝑ qua ređđ vijs̃ ꝑ annū, Mađ ap Eliđ naĩ teñ siłir; ꝑcełł eiusđm ꝰre ꝑ qua ređđ ꝑ anñ ijs̃ fił Ieu^a Vagh^an naĩ teñ j ꝑcełł eiusđ ꝰre ⁊ ređđ ꝑ anū iiijs̃ xđ et David ap Eignon Cragth siłir teñ unā ꝑcełł eiusdm̃ ꝰre ꝑ qua ređđ ꝑ anũ iiijs̃ xđ et levavit de ħbag̃ xvjđ.

Et xxđ oƀ de ꝑte iijs̃ iiijđ oƀ ꝑ i mes̃ iij boṽ ꝰre que fuẽr David Rustħ acciđ dño ꝑ escaeĩ ⁊ exisĩ in m⁹ dñi ꝑ def teñ ⁊ nō plus qȝ levavit de ħbag̃ xxđ.

Et xvjđ de ꝑte xxijđ ređđ ꝰr̃ [escaeĩ][2] que fueĩ Ieu^a Gutta exisĩ in m⁹ dñi ꝑ def teñ ult^a vjđ q^os leṽ de ħbag̃.

Sm^a dc̃ar alloc̃ vjłi ixs̃ ixđ oƀ.

. . . . . .

The following item appears among other respited rents:—

xvjs̃ vđ đe ređđ liƀ teñ de hoc a^o ⁊ a^o ultio pꝰꝰito q^oꝝ noĩa [Respect'.] patent in j cedula huic consuĩ quoꝝ teñ rem̃ in m⁹ dñi eo qđ nułł heređ appoñ in eisđ adhuc clam̃ ꝑ qđ dc̃m est Justic̃ qđ sequat^r ꝰre de cessavit ꝑ dc̃is teñ recupanđ.

The above mentioned schedule reads thus:—

ꝰra liƀoꝝ in mañ dñi a^o xxiiij.

D ꝰra fił Mađ ap Kenđ viijđ in Llestulas. De ꝰra Hoel ap Mađ ixđ. D ꝰr̃ Teg̃ Gogh Bastard in Bodan xijđ. De ꝰra Ioꝝ ap Eigñ ap Cornagth ixđ. D ꝰra fił Griff Goch xiiijđ. D ꝰra David ap Eigñ ixđ oƀ. D Hoell Wẏn ⁊

[1] *No'pl'* interlined in MS. [2] *Escaet'* interlined in MS.

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Groñ iijđ. D ꝑr̃ Ioꝝ ap Gurgeñ xxđ oƀ. D ꝑr̃ Hova ap Eignõ ixđ oƀ. D ꝑr̃ Eleñ Gogth jđ. D ꝑr̃ Eigñ xđ. D ꝑr̃ fiƚ Pħ Rubald in Rosvanagth xvjđ. D ꝑr̃e Pħ Prissoryn ijđ oƀ. D ꝑr̃ Ieu^a Gogth viijđ. D ꝑr̃ fiƚ Gorgan xđ.

D ꝑr̃ exist̃ in mañ dñi anno xxiiij.

D ꝑr̃a Mađ ⁊ Ieu^a fiƚ Cađ ꝑ hoc anno ⁊ anno ultĩo ꝑꝑito vjš viijđ ut^oque anno iijš iiijđ.

D ꝑr̃a Kev̓ ⁊ David fiƚ Mađ ap Gwẏn xvjđ ꝑ eisđm anñ. D ꝑr̃a fiƚ Groñ Saer ꝑ eisđ anñ xxđ.

Sm^a ređđ liƀ de a^o xxiiij^to xvjš viiijđ.

Inde leṽ de ħbag̃ iijš iiijđ. Et defic̃ xiijš iiijđ.

Sm^a ređđ liƀ de anno xxv—iiijš xđ.

Inde leṽ de ħbag̃ xxjđ. Et defic̃ iijš jđ.

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APPENDIX IV.

Lists of Some Original Authorities, etc.

(*a.*) *A list of Sheriff and Bailiff Accounts*[1] *for the Counties of Anglesea, Carnarvon, and Merioneth during the Fourteenth Century.*

County.	Minister.	Reign.	Regnal Year.	Ministers' Accounts (General Series). Reference (P.R.O.)
Anglesea ...	Sheriff ...	Edw. I.	20, 30-32.	1227, 1-5.
	,, ...	Edw. II	1.	1170, 5.
	,, ...		2-20 (years 4, 5, 9, 8, wanting). ...	1227, 6-14; 1228, 1-9.
	,, ...	Edw. III	1	1228, 10.
	,, ...	,,	3, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17-20, 21. ...	1229, 1-8.
	Bailiff and Sheriff ...	,,	25-38 (33, 36, 37, wanting). ...	1149, 1-9; 1150, 1-2.
	,, ,,	Ric. II ...	1-20 (14, wanting).	1150, 3-10; 1151, 1-9; 1152, 1-3.
Carnarvon ...	Sheriff ...	Edw. I ...	20, 29.	1230, 1-2.
	,, ...	Edw. II	1, 3.	1170, 5-6.
	,, ...	,,	6.	1230, 3.
	,, ...	,,	8.	1170, 9.
	,, ...	,,	17, 18.	1230, 4-5.
	,, ...	Edw. III	1, 5, 19, 21. ...	1230, 6-9.
	Bailiff and Sheriff ...	,,	25-34 (28, wanting).	1171, 7-12; 1172, 1-4.
		Ric. II ...	1-23 (4, 16, wanting).	1172, 5-11; 1173, 1-9; 1174, 1-9; 1175, 1-5.
Merioneth ...	Sheriff ...	Edw. I ...	20, 32.	1231, 1-2.
	,, ...	Edw. II...	1.	1170, 5.
		,,	2.	1231, 3.
		,,	3.	1170, 6.
	,, ...	,,	5, 6, 7.	1231, 4-8.
		,,	8.	1170, 9.
	,, ...	,,	10.	1231, 9-10.
		,,	13, 14.	1231, 11-12.
	,, ...	,,	16.	1232, 1-2.
	,, ...	Edw. III	1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 14, 26.	1232, 3-12.
	Bailiff and Sheriff ...	,,	50.	1203, 1.

[1] The accounts are arranged into bundles, each containing a series of rolls which are separately numbered. Bundle 1170 (including 19 account rolls) and Bundle 1171, 1-6, not included in the following

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(*b.*) *A list of Extents relating to the Principality of North Wales during the Fourteenth Century.*

County.	Date.	MS. Reference.	Remarks.
Anglesea.	22 Edw. I.	Rental and Surveys (P.R.O.) Roll 768. Another copy *Ib.* Roll 769.	Printed in Dr. Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*, App. A. a.
	Edw. I.	R. and S. (P.R.O.) Roll 767.	Survey of the curtilage lands held by the burgesses of the Town of Beaumaris. Printed in "Original Documents", pp. xiv-xviij (Supplement to *Arch. Camb.*, 1877).
	13 Edw. III.	I. P. M. (Chancery) 13 Edw. III (*2nd nrs.*) No. 58.	Extent of Aberffraw. Printed in *Tribal System in Wales*, App. A. e.
	26 Edw. III.	Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS. 696 and 4776.	Printed in the *Record of Carnarvon*, pp. 44-89.*
Carnarvon.	[Edw. I.]		An "old extent" sometimes referred to in the *Rec. of Carn.*, *e.g.*, p. 9, now wanting, may be reconstructed in part from the early accounts.
	26 Edw. I.	R. and S. (P. R. O.) Portf. 17/84.	Terrier of the Town of Carnarvon.
	— Edw. I.	Do., Portf. 17/87.	Rental of the Town of Conway.
	— Edw. I.	Do.. Portf. 17/88.	Terrier of the Town of Conway.
	26 Edw. III.	Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS. 695 and 4776.	Printed in the *Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 1-43.
	Ditto.	Ditto.	Extent of Penmayn and Llysvaen. *Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 40-41.
Merioneth.	Edw. I.	R. and S. (P.R.O.) Roll 789,	Printed in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, vol. xii, pp. 183-193.
	Hen. V.	Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS. 4776.	Printed in the *Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 261-292.
North Wales.	[22 Edw. III].	Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS. 696 and 4776.	Extent, mainly of the lands of the Bishoprick of Bangor, printed in the *Rec. of Carn.*, pp. 92-114.
?	19 Edw. III.	Pub. Lib. Camb. MS., Did. ix, 36.	Survey of the lands of Edward Prince of Wales.

list, consist chiefly of the Bailiff Accounts of the North Welsh boroughs (*temp.* 32 Edw. I to 21 Edw. III), together with several very interesting and valuable Coroner's Accounts. These also contain three Sheriff Accounts, which are referred to in the table below. The list has been compiled from the official *Lists and Indexes*, No. v.

* It may be interesting to note that Lewis Morris, one of the celebrated Morris brothers, compiled an Index to this particular extent—Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 14,930. "It is remarkable," he says, "that the name Llywelyn is never wrote at length in this Extent, and but only Ll i, as if our last Welsh Prince's name was to be buried in oblivion."

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(c.) *A list of the Court Rolls relating to the North Welsh Principality during the Fourteenth Century.*

Comparatively few Court Rolls have survived. All told they number less than forty, the majority of which belong to the reign of Edw. II. The following list is compiled from the official *Lists and Indexes*, No. VI.[1]

County.	Reign.	Regnal Year.	Reference, Court Rolls (P.R.O.)
Anglesea ...	Edw. I.	30	Portfolio 215, 1.
	Edw. II.	9, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20	Portf. 215, 2-12.
	Edw. III.	20	Portf. 215, 13.
Carnarvon ...	Edw. II.	15, 16, 18, 19	Portf. 215, 46, 49-52.
Merioneth ...	Edw. II.	5, 16, 18, 19, 20	Portf. 227, 22-31.
	Edw. III.	1, 3, 4, 14	Portf. 227, 32-36.

[1] In addition to these, there are a few Rolls of the Town, Market, and Piepowder Courts, *Court Rolls* (P.R.O.), Portf. 215, nos. 47-48 (Conway); nos. 53-54 (Criccieth); also *Min. Acc.*, 1170, no. 16 (Carnarvon and Criccieth); *Ib.*, 1170, no. 3 (Conway).

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RULES AND METRES OF WELSH POETRY.[1]

By the Rev. H. ELVET LEWIS.

The publication of M. Loth's first volume on the metrical system of Welsh poetry—*La Métrique Galloise*—has called attention anew, and from a fresh constituency, to a subject which seemed of interest only to a small group of Welsh verse-makers. Why anyone, outside the circle of Eisteddfod prize-winners, should trouble his head to discover and elucidate this wondrous mosaic of vowels and consonants, may well puzzle a practical age. Can the form of a *Cynghanedd Draws Fantach*—"Concentus Transiliens Cruciformis"—make any difference in the solution of our fiscal problems? What has a *Hupynt Byr*—"Auroricum Bracheticum"—to do with Imperial questions, unless it promises shorter Parliamentary sessions, or shorter speeches? All that may be reasonably urged; and yet, the thing being there, it may be well to know exactly what it is, and what it presumes to do. Unhappily, in the case of the French volume named, with all our sense of gratitude to M. Loth, the treatment is marred by so many grave errors that the book can never attain to standard authority.

We must begin with the specific meaning of the Welsh *cynghanedd*. In music, it is the term used to denote harmony. In the Welsh Bible it is used in Luke xv, 25:

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, 24th April, 1903. Chairman, Frank Edwards, Esq., M.P.

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"efe a glywai *gynghanedd* a dawnsio"—where the English version has simply "music" to represent the Greek "symphonia". In poetry, the word denotes a certain technical arrangement, for sonorous effect, of consonants and vowels. The three trunk divisions of Welsh Symphony are:—

(1) *Y Gynghanedd Lusg* (Trailing Symphony). This is simply a hidden rhyme in a metrical line; but the one syllable, with which an ending syllable in an earlier portion of the line must in this case rhyme, is the accented penultimate in a word of more than one syllable. The following examples from Dafydd ap Gwilym will illustrate:

"Galar ar *ol* mab*ol*aeth."

"Ni'th ladd mab m*am* o *am*hwyll."

"Tristau dr*aw*, a dist*aw*n (=distaw-wn)."

"Mae tas*el* o wallt m*el*yn."

"Y fwyalch*en* aw*en*awl."

(2) *Y Gynghanedd Draws* neu *Groes* (Transilient Symphony). This requires no inner rhyme, but only an orderly repetition of one or more consonants, with a variation of vowels. The line in its first and last divisions must be duly balanced, the medial divisions in the case not counting symphonically: for instance, in a line of seven syllables there may be a medial division of one to five syllables—or none at all; the less un-related consonants there are in a line the better it is, from the point of mere art. The illustrations given will show the gradual diminution of the mute medial division: and in order at the same time to show how readily the Welsh language, in its most natural form, lends itself to some even of the most intricate forms of *cynghanedd*, all the illustrations will be from the prose of the Welsh Bible:

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(*a*) One syllable:

"Pawb [a wynebant at eu] pobl" (Isaï. xiii, 14).

"Gwell [yw fy ffrwyth i na]g aur" (Diar. viii, 19).

(*b*) Two syllables:

"A bod [fy ngweddi yn] bur" (Job xvi, 17).

"Byddwn [gyffely]b iddo" (1 Ioan.).

(*c*) Three syllables:

"A bara [cudd sydd] beraidd" (Diar. ix, 17).

"Hi a rydd [ychwaneg] o ras" (Diar.).

"Alltudion [fel ein] holl dadau" (1 Cron. xxix, 15).

Let it be noted that the *final* consonant of the first division requires no repetition in the end of the corresponding division: indeed there is a distinct rule forbidding this, as will be explained later.

(3) *Y Gynghanedd Sain* (Sonorous Symphony). It partakes of the nature of the other two, in that it has a hidden rhyme as well as symphonic correspondence. We will take our illustrations again from the Welsh Bible:

"Yngha*n*o*l* ei He*o*l HI" (Dat. xxii, 2).

"Rhaid eich gen*i* CHw*i* dracHefn" (Ioan iii, 7).

This form seems to be the oldest: we may therefore probably consider the other two as outgrowths of this.

It will be noticed in analyzing and comparing these three forms, that the first, strictly speaking, is not *cynghanedd* at all, but a hidden rhyme and no more. The third is mixed rhyme and symphony; and only the second is a pure form—viz., a repetition of consonants with a variation of vowels in the two "arms" of the line. We have refrained from details as to varieties within each of

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the three forms, because the general principle enunciated carries us far enough for our present purpose.[1]

But to afford a glimpse of the intricacies of symphonic rules, and to warn the would-be englyn-maker from taking things too easily, let me indulge in one or two indicative details.

Suppose we have our line partly shaped,—the first and medial divisions properly fitted as to rhythm and sense,—and we are groping for the third division—a repetition of the consonants of the first, with a variation of vowels. Here is the fragment:

"Ennill nef [yn . . ."

The material consonants are [n][2], ll, n, f: we proceed—

"Ennill nef yn y llwyn haf."

That seems to sound well: but it is, technically, a lost line, for we have overdone it. There is a rule that the closing consonant of each division must, like the vowel, be varied. Therefore the line must be something like this:

"Ennill nef [yn][3] y llwyn onn."

"Ennill nef [yn] y llwyn oed."

Or better still, as Dafydd ap Gwilym has it—

"Ennill nef [yn] y llwyn ir."

or

"Ennill nef [. .] yn y llwyn ir."

We will try another fragment:

"Duw i mi [roes . . ."

May we not naturally proceed:

Duw i mi roes doe y Mai?

[1] In the *Transactions* of the Carnarvon Eisteddfod, 1886 (published by the National Eisteddfod Association, 64, Chancery Lane), will be found an English essay, lucidly written and amply illustrated, bearing on all the rules of *cynghanedd*.

[2] An inital n, like h, need not be repeated. But written as nn, perhaps the n of the medial division should really be reckoned to the second "arm."

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But once more we are held up by the symphonic detective, and told that the *two* divisions must not close with a vowel. Therefore let Dafydd rescue us once again—

"Duw mawr a roes doe y Mai."

It should be here remarked, however, that in Dafydd ap Gwilym's day, and later, there were, in this respect, certain permissions since abrogated, in the case of diphthongs not too closely related—a kind of deceased-wife's-sister law.

This then, speaking in rudimentary fashion, is Welsh *cynghanedd*. What is the root of it? It can be traced back, step by step, to the first hints of it, almost amorphous, in our earliest literature. To begin with, it was simply alliteration, or else a buried rhyme. In the *Gododin* there are ample traces of it. When we take a *Gododin* stanza of, say, ten lines, probably one final rhyme will bind the ten together. But within each separate line will be found either alliteration, or hidden rhyme, or a combination of both. For instance:

"Kaeawg cynifi*ad* cywl*ad* crwyd
Rhuthyr er*yr* yn LL*yr* pan LLithiwyd
Ei am*od* a fu n*od* a gadwyd
Gwell a wn*aeth*—ei arf*aeth* ni giliwyd
Rhag byddi*n* OD*od*i*n* OD*ech*wyd
Hyder gymeLL ar freithBLL Fanawyd."

The text of the *Gododin* is so insecure that to build much upon it is unprofitable. The hidden rhyme is clear enough; and there seems to be, in lines 2 and 5,—and possibly in line 4: gwell . . . . giliwyd—distinct alliteration. But there are instances of regular *cynghanedd* in the *Gododin*: such as—

(*a*) "Amuc moryen gwenwawt."

(*b*) "Keredic Karadwy."

(*c*) "Kledyual dywal diwan."

Are these only accidental, or at most incidental? Pro-

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bably; but the accidental has often been the beginning of rule and law. Taking a number of verses together, the medial rhyme and alliteration were undoubtedly cultivated; the existence of *cynghanedd*, in any modern sense, is doubtful.

In the *Mabinogi of Math fab Mathonwy*, we have use made thrice of what is called "*englyn*." Gwydion followed the sow to Nant y Llew, and there beheld on the top of the tree an eagle; "and it seemed to him that the eagle was Llew (Llawgyffes). And he sang an *englyn*." And the eagle descended to the middle of the tree. A second *englyn* brought him to the lowest branch; and a third to Gwydion's knee, where he could be struck with the magic wand and restored to his human form.

These *englynion* look as if they were older than the prose in which they are embedded. Indeed, one is tempted to accept Mr. Mathew Arnold's theory—as to some other contents of these old tales—that "this is a *detritus*, as the geologists would say, of something older"; or as he expresses it, in another part, with a change of figure, "the medieval story-teller is pillaging an antiquity of which he does not fully possess the secret." Now I have my doubts as to these *englynion* being correctly given by the prose-writer or editor. But even as they are, they have the form of an irregular *englyn*; alliteration is used in them; but whether there is trace of the hidden rhyme I feel more dubious. Taking them as they are, they suggest, from the standpoint of the art of symphony, a cruder or at least a more primitive state of it than the *Gododin* in many instances does. And from the *Gododin* forward, through the extant poems, or fragments of the tenth to the thirteenth century poets, one can watch the gradual crystallization. When we take the *Gogynfeirdd* section of the *Myfyrian Archaiology*, Meilyr has the hidden

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rhyme carefully inserted in almost every line, and he is evidently, through alliteration, groping after the third form mentioned above—*cynghanedd sain*. What else are we to make of such frequent forms as the following?—

"Y Edw*yn* terrw*yn* torf . .
B . . . bruydr*in* cyn rhew*in* rhawd
. . pob pedw*ar* yn war weiniawg
Gwyly*nt* golithry*nt* yn og*e*lawg"—

and many less decided examples. This follows on, slightly varying, through Gwalchmai and his son Meilyr: hidden rhŷme, with symphony more or less full, of the "sonorous", but seldom of the "transilient" kind, except in the middle of the line: as (from Elidr Sais: 1160-1220)—

"Och *Dduw* a *ddaw* ef etwaeth.
Gomeddws E*f*a a*f*al ddiwedd.
Gwr *darpar* y *dirpruy* hi byd."

But these, from the same poet, are mature transilient lines:—

"*Mess*ur [a ddodir ar bob] *mas*wedd,
O Iesu [y traethws] i o*ss*edd."

The Black Book of Caermarthen (twelfth century) yields similar results. Take the first stanza of the first poem—

"Mor truan genhyf mor truan
Aderyv am Keduyv a chaduan
Oed llachar Kyulauar Kyulauan
Oed yscuid o tryuruyd o tryuan."

With the exception of the first, each line has the hidden rhyme and deepened alliteration. Indeed, the sonorous symphony is there, as far as the consonants are concerned; but the vowels are not varied. Most of the other verses are less pronounced. And some of the poems show next to no trace of symphony (No. x for instance): while, on the other hand, we have in No. xii such almost perfect symphonic lines as these—

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"Duu anam*nc*. Duu angor*uc*. Duw angua*r*aud.
"Duu angobeith. teilug pir*feith*. tec y pur*fawd*"

—associated, however, with lines that are alliterative rather than symphonic.

The *englyn* metre does not appear in the *Black Book*, nor has Gwalchmai it, but his contemporary Cynddelw makes considerable use of it, and it is an interesting link in the development of symphony. In his works may be found such fully developed lines and couplets as the following:—

"Ym bryn gwyth yn amwythic."
"Pryder drag*on* rot*yon* rwyt
Prydein gl*awr* uwgl*awr* arglwyt."
"ar dy byrth, ar dy borthawr."
"I gym*od* an dyf*od* im dau."

But these seem more like experiments: more usual are the medial symphony, as

"Claur *powys peues* unbyn
Canmil canmoles duv hyn—"

or deepened alliteration, as

"Ny chel vygkerd vygkuynvan
Ny chud vyggrud vyggridvan."

When we come to the early bards of the fourteenth century there is no mistaking the foothold gained by symphony in its more modern form. A series of *englynion* by Hillyn (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 278), contains the three symphonic classes, and with trifling exceptions, would be accepted to-day as regular. Similarly, Gruffudd ap Maredudd (*Ibid.*, p. 305-6), and G. ab D. ap Tudyr (*Ibid.*, 318-20), and other contemporaries.

We have now reached the age of Davydd ap Gwilym: and that means, as far as the Welsh *ars poetica* is concerned, the dawn of the modern era. The earlier poets of the fourteenth century, whose works are represented in

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the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, had, as we have seen, approached the more regular art of the age immediately coming after: but between their best and Dafydd's best—speaking of form only—there is a change as of a tree from March to June. We are told that he improved the *cywydd*: to all intents and purposes he created it. Rhys Jones, in *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru*, after giving two or three extracts from what he supposed were poets of the sixth century, left the centuries between the sixth and the fourteenth as though no poet had breathed for eight centuries, and so commenced his golden treasury with Dafydd. What Dante signifies, in the matter of language and metrical art, to Italian poetry, that Dafydd ap Gwilym meant to Welsh poetry. The generation before him, the art was still experimental; since his day, it has remained almost as he had left it. Within some few years of his death—if not even before—a grammar of the twenty-four metres was possible, as proved by a treatise called that of Edeyrn in the *Red Book of Hergest*.

Welsh *cynghanedd* therefore came to its full blossom in the fourteenth century. The region between the twelfth and seventh is covered with darkness; but as far as the *Gododin* can be made, in the present state of the text, to afford evidence, the germs of the later development are found there in the use of alliteration and hidden rhyme; and not infrequently it affords perfect examples of symphony—but whether accidental or technical we have left an open question.

Should anyone be inclined to look upon this intricate system of arranging consonants and vowels as puerile, let him pause to consider that the language itself is inherently symphonic; and that some of the most useful and most common quotations in the language are

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symphonic lines or couplets. I know that other influences than those of a feeling for language and a sense of style came in finally. Jealousy for bardic rights and privileges had much to do with Dafydd ap Edmwnd's codification of the rules at Carmarthen Eisteddfod in 1451, and with obtaining a royal charter for the Caerwys Eisteddfod in the following century. But in both cases it was reform not innovation.

II.

We have dwelt so far on the Art of Poetry in its application to the single line: we now come to metres. They are usually referred to as twenty-four. That is the number in the oldest grammars; and though there are two different systems—one that of Gwynedd and the other that of Morgannwg—the number twenty-four is retained in each. But the metre does not affect the principle of symphony: it applies to a line of four syllables as to a line of ten; to a verse of two lines as to a verse of twenty. Of these twenty-four metres, several are variations rather than separate forms. So it will not be necessary to mention more than the most striking of them.

(1) *Cywydd.* In this each couplet rhymes. Each line must be of seven syllables (eight permissible); one of the two must end in a monosyllable, and the other in a word of more than one syllable. Nearly all the specimens in the *Flores Poetarum Brittannicorum*—Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd's collection—are in *cywydd* form. Here are some of his couplets:—

"Da yw nef i'r dyn afiach,
A da yw nef i'r dyn iach."

"Erioed ni thrigodd yr iâ
Ar ffynnon, fis Gorphenna."

"Gwell i wr goll ei arian
Na cholli gweddi dyn gwan."

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It is a charming metre for descriptive purposes, and, as in the quotations given above, for pointing a moral.

(2) *Englyn*. This consists of four lines, all to one rhyme: the first line, ten syllables; the second, six; the third and fourth, seven or eight each. The second line has no symphony within itself, as a rule; but lends its first two or three syllables to symphonize with an equivalent in the last syllables of the first line.

These specimens in three languages will illustrate:—

Castell Dinas Brân.

"Engl*yn*, a THel*yn*, a THant—A'R GWLEDDoedd
ARGLWYDDawl, darfuant:
Lle bu bon*edd* GWYN*edd* GANT
ADAR NOS a DEYRNASant."

A Latin Englyn by Archdeacon Prys.

"VELLem e carne vili—QUA PREMor
CUM PRIMis jam solvi
ET CUPIo a TE CAPi,
Salvat*or* AMAT*or* MI!"

An English Englyn by Ioan Emlyn.

"Wake, sweet *Harp*! why w*arp* in WOE,—WHY LINGER
And LANGUISH in SORROW?
Why let *rough* and BL*uff* winds BLOW
THY WAILings on THE WILLOW?"

We have two collections of Englynion, edited by Eifionydd; a first and second series, of a thousand each. Most of them are exquisite examples of much in little, artistically expressed and with difficulty forgotten.

(3) *Toddaid*. This usually consists of two lines of ten syllables each; the first line containing a rhyme-rest from the sixth up to the ninth syllable: the last word of the line rhyming with the medial word of the next line. It is usually placed at the end of four lines, or more, of ten syllables each. Here is an example:—

"Pwy draetha droell blethi*a*dan—cynghan*edd*
A MEL HYAWDLedd ei MILMIL ODLAU?"

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The dash in the first line marks the rhyme-rest: *cynghanedd* rhymes with *hyawdledd.*

(4) *Hupynt.* This is altogether more tiny than any of those mentioned. It has two or three four-syllable lines rhyming, the last of these symphonising with the next line, which introduces a fresh rhyme. It is, as we have seen, an ancient form; and there is a number of poems in this metre in the *Black Book of Caermarthen*; but the line that changes the rhyme is alliterative oftener than symphonic.

"Duw a 'n amug
Duw a 'n gorug
Duw a 'n gwarawd."

"Duw a 'n gobaith
Teilwng perffaith,
Teg y purffawd."

From the fourteenth to the end of the eighteenth century symphony and its metres practically dominated Welsh poetry. No carol even was considered regular unless it was largely symphonic. Archdeacon Prys, in his version of the Psalms, had preserved the hidden rhyme, which is one of the roots of symphony. As Dafydd ap Gwilym is to the twenty-four metres, so is Williams, of Pantycelyn, to the freer metres. In Prof. W. Lewis Jones's *Caniadau Cymru*—Golden Treasury of Songs—the few specimens given before Williams's day bear the mark of the older rule. Then he comes; and gradually *cynghanedd* disappears from the freer metres, except in the same sense as it is found in the Bible. It was the beginning of the rivalry between the *emyn* and the *englyn:* and the struggle between the two still continues more or less: though frequently a poet writes equally well—or nearly so—in both styles. But it is noteworthy that there are writers who produce far better poetry in the strict metres, with all their symphonic intricacies, than in the freer metres. A

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master of the twenty-four metres is not infrequently an amateur in blank verse. But then are there not English poets who can produce a better thing in the strict sonnet form than in blank verse; as if somehow the mind worked more deftly in the restraints of a chain of gold?

I have aimed at showing that the rules and metres of Welsh poetry are no professional caprice, though they may have been at times capriciously developed or used. They are inherent in the genius of the language; they reach back to the known origins of our literature. They might have been at first used to help the memory during those Druidic times, when, as Cæsar tells us, it was not lawful to commit sacred teachings to writing. It is certain that *cynghanedd* does materially assist the memory; and in the editing of any poetry from the fourteenth century downwards, a knowledge of *cynghanedd* and of its complex growth is essential; and a closer study of its forms in the earlier centuries may help much in fixing and elucidating doubtful texts, as well as in deciding dates of composition.

Traces of symphony have been found in other languages. James Howell, in his *Epistolæ Hoelianæ*, gives examples of Italian symphonics; and I have seen limited English lists. But they are merely accidental. Archdeacon Prys probably expressed the truth for all time when he said:

"Profais, ni fethais yn faith
O brif ieithoedd braf wythiaith;
Ni phrofais dan ffurfafen
Gwe mor gaeth a'r Gymraeg wen."

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CELTIC ART IN PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN TIMES.[1]

By J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A.

The word Celt was first used to describe a people who inhabited the Alpine district near the source of the Danube in the seventh or eighth century B.C., and who had not at that time emerged from the Bronze Age stage of culture. The name Gaul was applied at a later time to the hordes of barbarian warriors who took Rome in B.C. 396, and sacked Delphi under Brennus II in B.C. 279. The word Gaul signifies warrior, and the word Celt has a similar meaning. Professor John Rhys[2] says that the Gauls themselves in Cæsar's time appear to have preferred the name which he wrote, *Celtæ*.

The Celt does not make his appearance in history before the beginning of the sixth century B.C. The first reference made to the Celts by any classical author is to be found in Hecatæus of Miletus (B.C. 509), who describes Marseilles as a Ligurian city over against the Celtic region. Herodotus (B.C. 450) says that the Danube has its source amongst the Celts near the city of the Pyrenees, and that the only people further west in Europe were the Dog Men. Aristotle (B.C. 400) repeats the statement of Herodotus. Plato (B.C. 400) classes the Celts with the

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on the 26th of May 1903. Chairman, Colonel E. Pryce Jones, M.P.

[2] *Celtic Britain*, p. 2.

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Scythians, Persians, Carthaginians, Iberians, and Thracians, as all being warlike nations, fond of wine and drinking it to excess. Pytheas (B.C. 300) is the first classical author who includes the Gaul of Cæsar within the Celtic region. Polybius (B.C. 205 to 123) calls the Trans-Alpine Celts "Gauls".

The physical characteristics of the Celts are not specified by the classical authors until the third or fourth century B.C., when the Greeks and Romans actually came in contact with them. At that time the Celts are always described as being tall and muscular, with a fair skin, blue eyes, and blond hair tending towards red. Polybius indicates the state of culture which the Cis-Alpine Celts had attained to by stating that they were a warlike tribe of nomad shepherds, having no fortified villages, and being *without art or science of any kind.* Admitting this to be correct, the Celts must have derived their subsequent civilization entirely from the Greeks and Romans and the Neolithic aborigines with whom they came in contact.

The Gaulish type was fixed in Greek plastic art by the sculptors of Pergamon who were commissioned to erect a memorial to the victories of Attalus I (B.C. 241 to 197) and Eumenes II (B.C. 197 to 159). The original statues in bronze were placed upon the Acropolis at Pergamon, but they are familiar to us from replicas in marble found at Rome. The best known representation of a Gaul in statuary is the so-called Dying Gladiator. This shows him to be muscular, with an abundance of unkempt hair, and a profile so energetic as to be almost brutal. He wears a twisted torque round his neck, and his great war trumpet lies beside him.

Turning to Celtic ethnology and philology it must be clearly borne in mind that identity of language or culture does not necessarily imply identity of race. As far as

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their language goes the Celts belong to the Aryan family of nations, which also includes the Romans, Greeks, Teutons, Slavs, Armenians, Persians, and Hindoos. The non-Aryan inhabitants of Europe are at the present day represented by the Basques, Hungarians, Turks, Lapps and Finns. The Neolithic peoples with whom the Celts came in contact on their arrival in Europe and gradually displaced, driving them westward to the shores of the Atlantic, were non-Aryans of Iberian stock, akin to the Basques, dark-haired, long headed, and short of stature. The results of ethnological research confirm the testimony of history in showing that the Celts were the very opposite of the Iberian aborigines, and were tall, muscular, light complexioned and round-skulled. The modern Celts are a mixed breed, the result of the absorption of the conquering race by the Neolithic aborigines to whom they were numerically inferior. The toning down of the savage profile of the Celt, the development of his artistic faculties, his love of nature, and his poetical imagination, are due almost entirely to his contact with the Iberian Stone Age folk, and not the legacy of the semi-barbarous warriors (ignorant of art and science of any kind), who made themselves the terror of civilised Europe in the third and fourth centuries B.C. Let the Celt, therefore, be a trifle more modest and less inclined to boast of his imaginary superiority over the Saxon in the domain of poetry, nature-worship, and art. Professor John Rhys says that the Welsh of the present day are in the main a Stone Age people racially; and if this be so, their mental and physical qualities must also in the main be inherited from their Stone Age ancestors. Celtic art reached its highest development in the parts of Great Britain where the Stone Age element was strongest, more especially in Pictland and Ireland.

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We have seen that the Celt of history does not appear upon the scene before about the year B.C. 509, but the Celt as revealed by archæological research can boast of an antiquity of at least two or three centuries further back. The continental antiquaries divide their Celtic remains into two periods, viz., the Hallstatt period, from B.C. 800 to 400, and the La Tène period, between B.C. 400 and the conquest of Cæsar. The first of these takes its name from the now celebrated cemetery of Hallstatt near Salzburg, in the Salzkammergut, Austria. The cemetery was discovered in 1846 and explored by G. Ramsauer, the results being published by Baron von Sacken in 1868, and A. B. Mayer in 1885. The objects found are now to be seen in the museums of Vienna and Linz. Some thousands of graves were explored, and in about half of these the bodies were burnt, and in the remainder the bodies were unburnt, indicating a difference of religious belief, if not of race. It has been conjectured that the burnt bodies were those of the proto-Celts, who were included in the first wave of the Celtic invasion of Europe, and that the unburnt skeletons were those of the Trans-Alpine Celts, who constituted the second wave of the Celtic invasion. The grave goods associated with the two kinds of burials do not differ greatly, except that there were a greater variety and quantity of weapons and vessels with the cremated burials, and more amber ornaments with the skeletons. The chief importance of the cemetery is that it yielded a large number of iron weapons, more especially the great Hallstatt sword, with its long iron blade and handle of ivory studded with amber, and a shorter sword with a bronze hilt, with *antennæ* and a short pointed iron blade. The cemetery, in fact, marks the transition from the Bronze Age to the Early-Iron Age in this part of Europe. Hallstatt owed its importance in ancient times

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partly to the fact that it was on the amber trade route from the shores of the Baltic to the head of the Adriatic, and partly to its extensive salt mines.

We must pause here to remark that the Bronze Age did not begin or end simultaneously in different parts of Europe; and that therefore we have some countries with a short Bronze Age, like Greece and Italy, and others with a long Bronze Age, like Great Britain and Scandinavia. More especially it should be noted that the Hallstatt or Early-Iron period (B.C. 800 to 400) on the Continent is contemporaneous with the later Bronze Age in Great Britain.

The La Tène period is called after the Gaulish *oppidum* of that name at the head of the Lake of Neuchatel in Switzerland. It corresponds with the Marnian period in France (called after the Gaulish cemeteries in the department of La Marne), and with the Late-Celtic period in Great Britain. The term Late-Celtic was first used by the late Sir Wollaston Franks to describe the antiquities of the Early-Iron Age in Britain, because the first invasion of this country by Celts was in the Bronze Age, *i.e.*, the Early-Celtic, which corresponds with the Hallstatt period on the Continent.

Professor John Rhys has divided the Celts of Great Britain into P and Q Celts, or Goidels and Brythons, the former being now represented by the Gaelic inhabitants of the highlands of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, and the latter by the Welsh and Cornish. The Goidels came over here first in the Bronze Age, probably before B.C. 1000, and the Brythons followed in the Iron Age about B.C. 350.

The Hon. J. Abercromby, by studying the geographical distribution of the drinking-cup (or beaker, as he prefers to call it) type of urn, has been able to show that the

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first Celtic invasion probably started from the mouth of the Rhine and landed on the east coast of Yorkshire. When the Goidels arrived here they were in the Bronze Age, and the Iberian people they encountered were in the Stone Age. The forests were uncleared and the marshes undrained, so that the only habitable places were the sea coast, the banks of rivers, and the open downs inland. The population was so sparse that there was no need for exterminating them, and all the evidence derived from the Bronze Age barrows examined by Bateman, Sir R. Colt Hoare, Dr. Thurnam, Canon Greenwell, and others, proves that the Goidels amalgamated with the aborigines almost immediately, and produced a people of mixed blood, neither entirely long skulled, nor entirely round skulled, and with eyes and hair of colours varying from light to dark.

The second invasion by Brythonic Celts heralded the introduction of iron, and probably involved a more severe struggle with the nations, who were now Celto-Iberians, than the previous conquest of the Neolithic people of this country by the bronze-using Goidels. As soon as the Brythons were fairly established in Britain the same absorption of the conquerors by conquered, who had numerical superiority on their side, again took place, and the Iberians, Goidels, and Brythons became one people.

The art of the Celtic peoples in Great Britain may be divided into the following periods:—

(1) Pagan Celtic Art of the Bronze Age (B.C. 1000 to 350).

(2) Pagan Celtic Art of the Early-Iron Age.
   (*a*) Pre-Roman (B.C. 350 to 50).
   (*b*) Romano-British (B.C. 55 to A.D. 450).

(3) Christian Celtic Art, Post-Roman and Pre-Norman (A.D. 450 to 1050).

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NOTE.—The art of these periods was illustrated by lantern slides, which were described by the Lecturer. The whole subject will be treated fully in his *Yates Lectures on Celtic Art*, now in course of publication by Messrs. Methuen and Co.

LIST OF LANTERN SLIDES USED TO ILLUSTRATE LECTURE ON CELTIC ART.

(1) Sepulchral urns of the Bronze Age in the British Museum, from Mynydd Carn Goch, near Swansea; Lambourne Down, Berks, and Porth Davarch, Anglesey.
(2) Sepulchral urns of the Bronze Age in the British Museum, from Aberdeenshire and Ireland.
(3) Sepulchral urns of the Bronze Age in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin, from various parts of Ireland.
(4) Bronze celts with ornament in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, from various parts of Ireland.
(5) Gold lunette with Bronze Age ornament in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, from Killarney.
(6) Gold gorget with repoussé ornament of the Bronze Age in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, found in Ireland.
(7) The great chambered cairn at Newgrange, co. Meath; general view of exterior.
(8) Ditto—view of entrance to passage from the outside.
(9) Ditto—interior of chamber.
(10) Ditto—interior of chamber.
(11) Ditto—slabs with spiral ornament of the Bronze Age.
(12) Ditto—slabs with spiral ornament of the Bronze Age.
(13) Late-Celtic shield boss of repoussé bronze, in the British Museum.
(14) Late-Celtic shield of repoussé bronze in the British Museum, from the Thames at Battersea.
(15) Late-Celtic helmets of wrought bronze in the British Museum, from the Thames, and some unknown locality.
(16) Late-Celtic bronze bridle-bits from Rise, near Hull, and Polden Hill, Somerset; and bronze armlets from Drummond Castle, Perthshire; all in the British Museum.
(17) Late-Celtic bronze disc of repoussé bronze from Ireland, and bronze spoons from London and Crosby Ravensworth, Westmoreland; all in the British Museum.
(18) Late-Celtic object with flamboyant work and pierced triangles from a cast belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, given by Mr. Albert Way.

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(19) Book of Durrow, Trinity College, Dublin—Interlaced work.
(20) Book of Durrow—Spirals.
(21) Ditto—Zoömorphs.
(22) Book of Kells, Trinity College, Dublin—Initial of St. Luke, xv, 9-12.
(23) Ditto—"$\overline{\text{XPI}}$ autem generatio", initial page.
(24) Ditto—Temptation of Christ.
(25) Ardagh Chalice, Mus. R.I.A.
(26) Lough Erne Reliquary, belonging to Mr. T. Plunkett, of Enniskillen.
(27) Tara Brooch, Mus. R.I.A.
(28) Cross of Cong (A.D. 1123), Mus. R.I.A.
(29) Shrine of Bell of St. Patrick's Well, Mus. R.I.A.
(30) Bell of Bangor, co. Down.
(31) Cross-slab of St. Berechert, of Tullylease (A.D. 839).
(32) Cross of Muiredach at Monasterboice, co. Louth (A.D. 844 to 924), 19ft. high, including base; front.
(33) Ditto; back.
(34) Ditto; sides.
(35) Great cross at Monasterboice, 22ft. high, including base; front.
(36) Ditto; back.
(37) Cross of SS. Patrick and Colomba at Kells, co. Meath; front.
(38) Ditto; back.
(39) Cross at Kilklispeen, co. Kilkenny; front.
(40) Ditto; back.
(41) Large cross at Castle Dermot, co. Kildare.
(42) Small cross at Castle Dermot.
(43) Cross at Moone Abbey, co. Kildare; front.
(44) Ditto; back.
(45) Cross at Termonfechin, co. Louth; front.
(46) Ditto; back.
(47) Cross-shaft at Boho, co. Enniskillen; front.
(48) Ditto; back.
(49) Cross at Kilfenora, near Ennis, co. Clare.
(50) Cross at Clonmacnois, King's co.

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THE

Cymmrodorion Record Series.

FIRST PROSPECTUS.

THE idea of the publication of Welsh Records, which had for some time occupied the thoughts of leading Welsh Scholars, took a definite and practical shape at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod held at Brecon in 1889. In the papers which were read at that meeting it was shown that a vast quantity of material necessary for understanding the history of Wales still remained buried in public and private Libraries, and also that such of the Welsh Chronicles as had been given to the world had been edited in a manner which had not fulfilled the requirements of modern scholarship.

As it appeared that the Government declined to undertake any further publication of purely Welsh Records, it was suggested by Sir John Williams that the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society should take the work in hand, and establish a separate fund for that purpose.

The Council are of opinion that a work of this magnitude cannot be left to private enterprise, although they thankfully acknowledge the indebtedness of all Welshmen to such men as Mr. G. T. Clark of Talygarn, the Rev. Canon Silvan Evans, Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, Mr. Owen Edwards, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, and Professor John Rhys, and they fully appreciate the valuable work done by members of the various Antiquarian Societies.

Private enterprise has enabled the Council to issue, without cost to the Society, the first number of the Series which they have undertaken. The edition of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, two parts of which have already been issued), is the result to Mr. Henry Owen—a member of the Society's Council—of long and arduous labour, and of an expenditure of a sum of money which would enable any patriotic Welshman who follows that example to present similar numbers of the proposed Series to his countrymen.

The second number of the Series consists of Records from the Ruthin Court Rolls (A.D. 1294-5), edited by Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of the Public Record Office. *A Catalogue of the Welsh Manuscripts in the British Museum*; a transcript of *The Black Book of St. David's*, and new editions of *Nennius* and *Gildas* are in course of preparation.

In the future numbers of the Series will be published, from public or private MSS., with Introductions and Notes by competent scholars, such Records as will throw light on some period of Welsh History. These publications will, the Council trust, go far to remove from the Principality the dishonour of being the only nation in Europe which is without anything approaching to a scientific history.

It is hoped to issue annually one number of the Series. The cost of each number will, it is anticipated, be about £250. To ensure a continuity of publication, it is necessary to form a Permanent Capital Fund, and this the Society of Cymmrodorion have resolved to do. This Fund, of which Sir John Williams, Bart., Sir W. Thomas Lewis, Bart., and Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A., are the Trustees, will be under the control of the Council, but will be kept separate from the general fund of the Society. It will be applicable solely to the purposes herein designated, and an account of receipts and payments will be submitted to each contributor.

Towards the expenses of publication the Council have found themselves in a position to set aside, from time to time, from the Society's General Fund the sum of £150, a contribution which they trust a large accession of members to the ranks of the Society will speedily enable them to augment.

The Council confidently appeal to all Welshmen for sympathy and help in this really national enterprise. Welshmen are proverbially proud of the antiquities of their land. To place the record of these antiquities within the reach of every Welsh student in an accurate and intelligible form, and to enable him to understand the growth of the national and individual life, is a work which should unite all Welshmen for the benefit of their countrymen, and for the honour of Wales.

BUTE, *President.*
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

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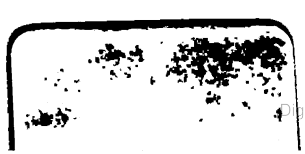

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